

THE GOL
DEN
BOKE OF MARCVS
AVRELIVS EMPE-
ROVR AND
ELO-
QVENT ORATOVR.

ANNO. M.D.XXXV.

316

THE TABLE.



- M** of the berthe and image of Merche Flavie
Anthony emperour. Cap. i. of Our Schole.
Cwhat merche Marcke Dutty had in his
yonge cap. ii. of Our Schole.
Cwhat sciences Marcus the emperor le-
red, And of a meruaylous letter that he sent to Polion.
cap. iii. of Our Schole.
Chome for the wisedome of Marcus many wise menne
borwyed in his tyne. capitu. iii. of Our Schole.
COf the emperor Marcus sonnewamed Aurelius.
capit. v.
Cwhat wise auenture menne Marcus chose to instructe
his sonne. cap. vi.
CHowe it chaunced to lyue wise menne, wherfore they
were put out of the emperours house. cap. vii.
CHowe the emperor reasoned with the maysters that
wulde lerne his sonne. cap. viii.
CHowe the maysters of princis ought to kepe them from
vices. cap. ix.
CHowe thempour Mattius newrched the uncessis
his doughters. cap. x.
CHowe Marcus the emperor dyd chose and proued his
sonnes in lawe. cap. xi.
Cwhat thempour Marcus sayde to the father of a
yonge man, that wolde marry one of his doughters.
capit. xii.
CHowe a sonne in lawe oughte to be well examined et be
accepted to his purpose. cap. xiii.
CHowe Marc the emperor fauoured al noble exercys,
and hated trewandes and fooles. cap. xiv.
COf the good conuerstation of this emperor Marcus
Aurelius. ca. xv.

¶

THE TABLE

- Howe that the marchynes depre to the god Jan
in Roine, and wher comyned to the sayd emperour there.
cap. viii.
- Howe Marcus the emperour answched a senatour in the
tenore. capitulo. xvii.
- Howe the emperour Marcus deuyded the houres of the
daye for the busynesses of the empire. capitulo. xviij.
- The autelwere of Marke the emperour, whan Faulme his
wyfe remaunded the heye of his study. capitulo. xix.
- The emperours rebeth the peryllles of them that haunte
women excessyuelye. capitulo. xx.
- The emperours answere to Faulme for that she sayd, she
was with chylde. capitulo. xxi.
- Howe synges was brought to the court, that the Haw-
carynes wold conquer geate Bytayne. cap. xxii.
- What the emperour said to them of his couete in esche-
inge ydernes. cap. xxiii.
- Of the peryllous lyvinge of them that haunte the courte
contynually. capitulo. xxvii.
- Howe the emp[erour] wold haue them of his couete to lyve.
capit. xxv.
- Of a meruaillous and fearefull monstre that was seene in
Scicile, and of his wytynges. cap. xxvi.
- What beselle to a citelen of Rome in the tyme of this em-
perour Marcus. cap. xxvii.
- Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in this emperours
tyme. cap. xxviii.
- Howe Marcus answched his physitions that wold haue
hem leue his studie. cap. xxix.
- Howe science ought to be in pynctis. cap. xxx.
- What a villayne sayde to the senatours of Rome in the
presence of the emperour. ca. xxxi.
- Of dyuers other thynges that the villayne said before the
sea

THE TABLE.

Howe the emperour desyred the welch of his people, and
 the people his welch. cap. xxxiiii.
 Howe the emperour gaue Lucilla his daughter licence to
 spotte her at his palays. cap. xxxviii.
 What Marcus the emperour sayde to a senatour as tou-
 chyng triumphes. cap. xxv.
 Of the great reproche that the emperour gaue to his wife
 Faustine and her daughter. cap. xxxvi.
 Howe the emperour counsayled faustine to eschewe ylle
 occasions of her daughter. cap. xxxvii.
 What thought Marcus the emperour toke for the mar-
 age of his daughters. ca. xxxviii.
 Of a syknes, wherof the emperour dyed, of his age, and
 where he dyed. ca. xxxix.
 The wordes of Panutius, secretary to thempetour, at the
 houre of his deathe. cap. xl.
 Howe the emperour demaunded to haue in wrytyng all
 that the secretary had sayde. cap. xli.
 The answeare of thempetour to Panutius. ca. xlii.
 What the emperour sayd to the maystres of his son and to
 the rulers of themplice. ca. xliii.
 Hawe the emperoure at the houre of his deathe, sente for
 his sonne, and declared to hym, who shuld gouerne the em-
 pire. ca. xliii.
 What the emperour sayde to his sonne at the houre of his
 death. ca. xlvi.
 Of other more particuler counsels giue by the emperour
 to his sonne. ca. xlvi.
 Of dyuers and particular recommendations, whiche the
 emperour commanuded his sonne. Cap. xlvi.
 Of the laste wordes that the emperour spake to his sonne,
 and of a table that he gaue hym. ca. xlvi.

A

THE TABLE

- A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to Pyramon his spe-
ciall frende. The firste letter.
- A letter sent by Marcus the empereour to Cornelius of the
trauayle of warre, Fvantrie of triumphe. The . ii . letter.
To Toxatus beinge at Gapette in consolation of his ba-
nyschemente. The thyrd letter.
- A letter of Domitius of Capie to comfort him in his ba-
nyschemente, the fourth letter.
- A letter sent fro thempereour to Claudius & Claudine his
wyfe, because they beinge olde lived as yonge personnes.
the . v . letter
- A letter sent fro Marcus theperour to Labinia a Romain
widow soz to cōfōrt her for the deathe of her housebande,
the syxt letter.
- A letter sente by Marke thempereour to Cynclatus his
frend, bycause he beinge a gentleman became a marchant,
the seventh letter.
- A letter sente from Marc the emperour to Catulus cens-
torius, that was sorowfull for the deathe of his sonne Ue-
rissimus, the . viii . letter.
- A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Marcurino, beyng
at Sannyn nowe called Benauent, the nynty letter.
- A letter sent by Marke thempereour, to Antigonus, comfor-
tyng hym in a sorowefulle case, the tenth letter.
- An other letter sente by Marc the Emperour to the same
Antigonus agaynshe cruell judges, the eleuenth letter.
- A letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the pte
of Helespont, whan he dyd banyshē the bacaboundes fro
Rome, the . xii .
- A letter sent by Marc thempereour to Catulus his specialle
frende of the nouelties of Rome, the thyxteenth letter.
- A letter sent by Marc theperour to the amorous ladys of
Rome, bycause they made a play of hym, the . xiii . letter.

A

T H E - T A B L E .

A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Boemia a louer
of his that wolde haue gone with hym to the warres.

The xv.letter.

The answere to the emperours letter sente by Boemia.

The syxteenth letter.

A letter sente by Marc the emperour to Matrine a yonge
maiden of Rome, of whome he was enamoured, seinge
her at a wyndowe. The seventeenth letter.

Another letter sent by Marc the emperour to the sayd gen-
tyl woman Matrine. The eighteenth letter.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Libia a sayre ladye
Romayne. The nyneteenth letter.

FINIS - TABVLE.





THE PROLOGUE.



So the tyme is an inventour of nouelties, and
a register certayne of thinges aunciente, and
at the ende tyme gyueth ende to that suffrethe
ende: The trouthe all onely amoung all thin-
ges is priuileged, in suche wise, that whanne
the tyme semethe to haue broken her wynges, than as im-
mortall she taketh her force. There is nothyng so entier,
but it diminishest, nor nothyng so hole, but that is wery,
nor nothyng so stonge, but that breaketh, nor nothyng
so well kepte, but that corrupteth. Soo all these thynges
tyme acheneth and burieth, but onely trouthe, the whiche
(of the tyme and of all thynges that is in the tyme) trium-
pheth, Neyther to be fauoured of the good, nor to be per-
secuted of the ill, may be, but that somtyme trouthe may be
stopped and hydde, but whan it is displeased, and wyl di-
splease, than at the laste she comethe to a good porke, and
taketh londe. The frutes in the spypynge tyme haue
not the vertue to gyue sustenaunce nor perfite swetenes
to satisfie the taste of them that eateth therof: but thanne
passethe the season of sommer, and haruest comethe, whi-
ch the tyme dothe better type them, and thanne that that we
doo eat dothe profyte vs, the profyte therof is ryghte sau-
tynesse, and gyueth the more force and vertue, and the
greatester is the taste. I wyl in these firsste wordes saye,
that in the fyfte aeges menne were moze esteemed by their
meke customes and delycatenes, than they were after re-
prooued by their grosse and rude understandynges. Cer-
tainly some of the aunciente philosophers, I speake of
the mooste aunciente, as welle Caldees as Grekes, who
fyfte lyfted them selues to regarde the sterres of the he-
uen, and surmounted the hyghe mounte of Olympias,
there to contemnplate and regarde the influences of the

PROLOGUE.

planettes in the heuen: I dare well saye, that they haue rather merited pardon by theyr ignorances, than pray-
synge or grace by their wisedome. These were the syntes
that wolde serche the trouthe of the elementes of the he-
uen, and yet they were the firste that dyd so we errors in
thynges naturall of the earth. Homere in his Illiade said
these wordes in speakeyng of philosophers: I prayse no-
thyng the knowlge of myn auncesters, but I can them
great thanke and prayse, in that they desyred knowlge.
This was well sayd of Homere. For if among the auncient
men had not rayned suche ignorance, there had not
ben so many sectis and parcialties in euery scole. He that
hath redde the aunciente antiquities of the philosophers,
shall not denaye me, the presumption of the knowledge
and ignorance of that they desired to knowe, the whiche
is chiefe cause, that science is not all one. There is great
nombre of parcialties, Cymitiens, Catoniens, Peripateti-
ens, Academpens, & Epicuriens, who were as contrary in
their opinions, as dyuers in their naturalities. I wylle
not that my penne be so dismeasured to rephuse so moche
the auncient men, that the glorie all onely shoulde abyde
with them that be present. Truly if he merite guardon
and prayse, that sheweth me the way, wherby I thynde to
passe: yet no less meritet he that sheweth and aduiseth
me of the waye, wherby I maye sayle. The ignorance of
the auncient men hath ben but as a gypde to aduyse and
aduertise all other, and bycause they erred, we haure fould
sythe the waye, to their great prayse, & to our great shame.
I say that if we that be nowe present had bene than, we
had knownen lesse than they dydde. And if they that were
than were nowe at this houre, they shulde surmounte vs
in knowlge. And that this is trewe, it appereth wel. For
the auncient sages, with their diligēce to knou the trouthe,

bp

T H E P R O L O G V E.

by their close and ferme made the wavyes : But we by our
flouthe folowe not the open wavyes. Than to the purpose
that I wyll saye, we that be nowe present, canne not com-
playne of them that haue bene , but that the trouthe (the
which accordyng to Iule. Gen. is daughter of the tyme)
In this tyme of the worlde declarethe to vs the errours
that we oughte to flee, and the trouth of the doctrine that
we oughte to folowe. But as nowe the humayne malyce
is so experte, and the vnderstandingyng of mortall menne is
so dulle, that in tyme of nede, in goodnes of wytte sayleth,
and in all yll we knowe more than we oughte to knowe.
In suche wise, that some with one parte of the moze , and
some with lesse, al pefume to win the game. And though
this be true, yet it is but a smalle thynge to that we abyde
fore : There is soo moche that we oughte to knowe . For
the moste that we knowe, is the leaste parte of that we be
ignorant of, as the thynges natural, accordyng to the va-
rietie of the tyme, lyke maner doth the operations of the
elementes. In semblable wise in thynges mortall, as the
ages hath succeeded, so are discouered the sciences. For cer-
taine all the fruities cometh not togyder. Whan one fay-
leth an other begynneth to entre in season . I wyll saye,
that neyther all doctours amonge christen menne, nor all
the philosophers amonge the gentylles were concurrante
in one tyme, but after the deathe of one good, an other
came better. The hygh and supreme wysedome, the whi-
che all meane thynges gouerneth by Justice, and depart-
teth it accordyng to his bountie , wyll not that at oone
tyme the worlde shulde want or be destitute of sage men ,
nor at an other tyme want of sympyle personnes : some de-
synginge the fruite, and some the leauies. In such sorte that
they shulde haue enuy of that other were impeched . This
suncient wold that ranne in Saturnus dayes, the whi-

P R O L O G V E .

the otherwyse was called the golden woldre, the whiche
 was so esteemed of them that sowe it, and soo moche pray-
 sed of theym that harde the wrytynge therof, and soo mo-
 che desired of them that fel no parte therof, was not gold
 by the sages that dyd gylte it, but bycause that there was
 none yll that did bngytl it. This our age nowe is of iron:
 yet it is not called of iron, for faute of sages, but bycause
 the malycious people surmounte. I confessone thynge,
 and I thynke I shall haue manye wyll fawout me in the
 same, that there was never in the woldre so moche people
 teachynge vertue, and soo fewe folowynge the same. Aul.
 Gele sayth in his boke, that the ancient sages were holden
 in reputation, bycause there were fewe teachers and ma-
 ny lerners: at this houre it is contrary, there be but fewe
 lerners and many teachers. The smal esteme that the sa-
 ges be in at this tyme maye be sene by greattte veneration
 that the philosophers were holden in as than, the whiche
 thynge was trewe: Homer amonge the grekes, Salomon
 amonge the Hebrewes, Lygurge amonge the Lacedemo-
 nyens, Lytie amonge the Romayns, Cicero amonge the
 Latines, Apolonius Thianeus amonge al the barbarike
 nations. I desyre to haue ben in all these ages, whan the
 woldre was so ryche of sage persons, and so poze of sym-
 ple persons, whan they assembled out of ferre countreis,
 and of dyuers realmes and strange nations : not all one-
 ly to haue hard their doctrines, but also to haue seen their
 persones. I thynke I am not begyled in the histories, for
 whan Rome in his mooste prosperite was hyghest in try-
 umphe, Titus Livius dothe wryte it in his histories, and
 the gloriouſ ſaint Jerome affirmethe it in the prologue of
 the byble, that mo people came to Rome to ſe the eloquen-
 ces of the bokes, more than to ioy any Ramayn triumph.
 Whan Olympias was deliuereſ of her childe the greatte

Alexander

1000. A.

P R O L O G V E.

Alexander, Philip her husbande and father to the yonge
 chylde wrote a letter to Aristotle, wherin he sayde: I gyve
 greate graces to the goddes, not all onely that they haue
 gyuen vnto me a sonne, but because they haue gyuen hym
 to me in the tyme that thou mayst be his maister, and he
 thy disciple. Marc Aurele the emperor, of whom this pre-
 sente boke intreatethe, he speakeynge of hym selfe wrote to
 Polion these wordes: frende I wyl thou knowe, that I
 am not made emperor by reason of the bloude of my pre-
 decessours, nor yet for the fauour of my lynage nowe pre-
 sent, but it was bycause I haue ben alwayes a frende, and
 louer of the sage people, and enmy to theym that haue no
 good knowledge. Byght happy was Rome to chose so ba-
 liant an emperor, and ryghte fortunate was that emper-
 our to come to suche an empire, not by patrimonye but
 by sagesnes. And if that aege was glorioius in soyng of
 his persone, no lesse it is to vs to loye of his doctrynes. I
 wyll intitle this boke the Golden boke. It maye be called
 golden, bycause in so high estimation it holdeth the ver-
 tuous, discoueringe in their tymes this boke with the sen-
 tences, as these princes holde theiur mynes of golde in
 their Indes. But I saye that at this houre there be moo
 hartes banished into the Indes of golde, than to employ
 them to rede the werkis of this boke. Salust saythe, that
 there ought great glory be gyuen to them that haue done
 these hygh and great actes: And that there oughte no les
 fame and renowme be gyuen to thein that in a good style
 haue written them. In this case I confesse to deserue noo
 merites for my traduction or any fame, but I demaunde
 pardon of all them that be sage, for the fawtes that they
 shall fynde therin. For excepte the diuine letters, there is
 nothyng so well written, but that there maye be founde
 necessarie of correction, lyne, and sensure. Demed this

A.iii.

to be

to be trewe, by that ~~Socrates~~ ^{is} reproched of Plato,
 and Plato of Aristote, Aristote of Abenius, Scilio of
 Sulpice, Lelic of Vane, Martin of Tome, Enio of Ho-
 race, Senec of Iule Cese, Estratocles of strabo, Cesato
 of Galene, Hermagore of Cicero, Origen of saint Jerom,
 Laynt Jerome of Russyn, and Russyn of Donato : ~~By~~ the
 that in them & in they^r werkis there hath bene correction,
 who were men of hyghe knowlge, it is no reason that I
 shulde be in their fraternitie, seing that I knowe so lytell
 as I do to the eramynation of wise and vertuous men.
 To them I submyt this present warke, and to them that
 haue ben liche, I them require to be content to be the re-
 ders, and not iuges therof. It were no pacience to suffice,
 nor lawe to permitt, that a thynge that a sage persone
 with great maturite and delyberation hath witten, to be
 displayed by a sympyle persone. For ones redyng, often-
 tymes the auctours and wyters are dyspayred, not of
 them that can traduce and compose werkis: but of them
 that can not vnderstande theym, and yet lesse rede theym.
 I saye further of aduantage, that dyuers haue written of
 the tyne of the layd Marke Aurelio emperour, as Her-
 dia[n] wrote lyttel, Cætropio less, Lamp[ridio] pet less, Ju-
 lius Capytolyn somewhat more. The writinges of them
 and of other semeth rather epitomes thanne hystories.
 There is difference betwene this writinge, and that they
 wrote by herynge say: but they by whom I haue com-
 posid this present warke, they were wytnesse by syghte, and
 not by heryng of other, but they wrote what they saw them
 selfe: That is to say among the maysters, who lemed the
 said emperour their sciéces, there were the, that is to say,
 Junio Bassico, Cina Catule, and Sexto Cheronense, ne-
 uue to the greattre Plutarke. These bene they that haue
 written this present historie, Sexto Cheronense in greeke,
 and

and the other two in latyne. I thynke of this historie is but small notyce, bicaus unto this houre it haue not beene imprinted. Whan I departed from the college of my study, and wente to preache in the palays, where I sawe so many newe nouelties in the courtes, I delibered my selfe with greate desyre to knoue thynges, and gaue my selfe to serche and knowethynges aunciente. And the case fortuned on a daye, redyng an historie, I founde therin matter to be noted in a pittel, and it semed to me so good, that I put all myn humayne forces to serche farther. And after in reuoluyng dyuers bokes, serching in dyuers libraires, and also speakeyng with diuers sages of dyuers realmes, finally I founde this treatise in florence, among the bokes left there by Cosme de Medicis, a man of good memorie. I haue vsed in this writinge, the whiche is humayne, that that dyuers tymes haue bene vsed in diuinite, that is to reduce, not wode for wode, but sentence for sentence: We other interpreters are not bounde to gyue for the meane the wordes, it suffiseth to gyue for the weyghte the sentence: As the historiographes, of whome there were dyuers, and the historie that they made was all but one thyng: I wyll not deny, but I haue leste out some wordes, which were not mete, nor wel sittynge, tude, and least of valure, and I haue medled it with other more swete and profitable. I thynke that every wyse man, after he haue redde this booke, wyll not saye that I am the principall auctour of this warke, nor yet to iuge me so ignorant to exclude me cleare from it, for so hyghe sentences are not founde at this presente tyme, nor to so hygh a stile they of tym past neuer attayned.

Here endeth the prologue.

Here

Here begynneth the boke of the lyfe of the noble
and eloquent Marke Aurele emperour.

COf the byxth and lygnage of Marke Aurele
Anthony emperoure. Cap. primo.

At the yere of the foundation of Rome . vi. C.
lxxv. in the Olimpiade a. C. lxxii. Anthony
the meke, beinge deed than consulles Fulule
Catō, and Gne Patrocle in the hysgh capitol,
the xxx. daye of Octobre at the demaunde of
al the people Romayn, and consent of the sacred Senate,
was declared for emperour uniuersall of all the monar-
che of Rome, Marc Aurele Antony. This excellente bar-
on was naturally of Rome borne in the mounte Celie .
And accordyng as Julius Capitolyne sayth, he was born
the. vi. kalendes of May, the whiche accordyng to the
accyomp of the latyns, was the. xxvi. daye of the monethe
of Mayl passed. His father was named Anio Vero. For
a cassyon wherof the histories dyuers tymes calle hym
Marc Anthony Vero. True it is, that Adriane the empe-
rour called hym Ulerissimus, bycause in hym was never
founde no lies, nor never sayled the trouth. These Anius
Veres was a lignage, that auanted them to be descended
of Numa Pompilio, and of Quintus Curtius the famous
Romayn: whiche forto delhuer the towne of Rome from
perylle, and to gyue his persone perpetuall memorie, of
his owne good free wylle he yelde hym selfe to the same
boxage, that as than was sene in Rome . The mother of
this emperour was called Domiciade, as Cyne historien
recounteth in the booke of the lynages of Rome . The
Camilles were persones in that tyme greatly esteemed , by
cause they were accyompted to be descended of Camille the
famous

famous and auncient capitayne Romayne, whiche del-
ivered Rome from the Gaulles that had wonne hit. The
menne that descended of that lignage were called Camil-
li, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the wommen
were also calledde Camilles, in the remembraunce of a
daughter of the sayde Camille, that was calledde Camilla.
There was an aunciente lawe, that all Romaynes
shuld haue a particular p[ri]uilege in the same place where
their predecessours had done to the Romayne people any
great seruice. For this aunciente custome they had p[ri]u-
lege, so that all they of the lynage of Camille were kepte
and mayntayned in the hygh capitoll. And in case the ba-
gatelle of the tyme, the multitude of tyranies, the evulston
and mouynge of ciuill warres were cause of the dymp-
lyshyng of the aunciente Polycie of Rome, and intro-
duced in maner a lyfe not verye good, yet for all that we
crede not, that the preeminentes of the Romaynes were
broken, but if it were in the tyme of Sylla, wh[en] he made
the uniuersall prescrition agaynst the Martians. After
the deathe of this cruell Sylla, in exaltinge of hym selfe,
Julius Cesar the pitifull, made dictatour of Rome, and
chief of the Martians, adnulled and bndyd all that Sylla
had made, and brought agayn into the auncient estate
the common welthe.

What hath benne the conditions, the estate, pouertie,
tychesse, fauour, or disfauour of the auncestours of this
Marc Aurelie Emperor, we fynde not in the aunciente
histories, and yet it hath ben diligently serched. The
auncient Romayne historiens were not accustomed to writte
the lyues of the emperours fathers, namely whanne they
be made monarcches; but the merytes and grates that
their children had, as so[me] the auctoritie that they had in-
heriting their fathers. Trouthe it is, as saythe Julius

Capitolyne, the father of Marc Aurelus emperour had ben pretour in spacieis, and capayn in the frontiers, in the tyme of Trajan the good, and Antoni the wylle, and Anthony the meke, emperours. This is confirmed by that the same Marc Aurelus wrote (being at Rhodes) to a frere of his called Polton, that was at Rome, sayinge thus: Many thinges haue I felte and knownen frende Polton, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I le my selfe here alone in this ple: but as vertue makeþe a straunger naturall, and vice tourneth naturall to a straunger: And as I haue ben. x. yeres here at Rhodes to rede philosophie, I therby repute my selfe as naturall of this lande, & that hath caused me to forȝet the pleasures of Rome, and it hath lerned me the maners of the ple. And here I haue found many of my fathers frendes. Here was capitayn agaynst the Barbariens, to my lord Adrian, Anthonye my father in lawe, the space of. xv. yeres. I leue thereto wytte, that the Rodian people are curteis, and ful of good graces. I wolde haue redde philosophy as longe as my father had ben at Rhodes in warre, but I may not: for Adrian my lord comandaundethe me to go and kepe residence at Rome, hewe be it every man reiþeþe to se his naturall countrey.

Coþe by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleued, that Anto Nero, fathur to this emperour Marc, had applyed the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the custome lyghtly to trusse a person to haue the office of a governour on the frontiers, without he had bene well exercysed in the feates of warre. And as all the glorie of the Romaynes was to leaue after them good renowme, the sayd Marc certaynly was taken for the mooste vertuous, and had greateſt frendes in the Senate, wherby he trusshed on the conquest of the most cruell empes: according
as

as the sayde Scerto Cheroneuse historien sayth, The Ro-
mains all though they had in their handes mooste peryl-
lous warres, yet they hadde in fourte partes of the empire
stronge and entier garnisons. That is to say in Byzance,
the which is nowe Constantinoble, by reasone of theym
of the oriente: And Engades, the whiche nowe is cal-
ledde Caler a citie of Spayne, for loue of theym of the
west: In the tauer of Rhodano, which is nowe þ ryuer of
Ryne, for the Germannes: And in Colosse, whiche nowe
is called the Rhodes, bycause of the Barbariens. In the
kalendes of Januarie, whanne the senate deuyded the of-
fices, beinge pourueyed of a dictatour, and of two con-
sules perely, Incontinent in the thirde place they prouy-
ded for fourre moste excellent barons to defende the sayde
fourre frontiers: The whiche semeth to be trewe, for the
moste famous and renowmed barons in theyr ponge daies
were capitaynes in the saide frontiers. The great Dom-
petus was sente to the Byzaunes Constantinoble: The
worthy Scipio was sente to the Colossences and Bodys-
ans: And the couragious Julius Cesar was sente with
the Capitaynes of Calyr of Spayne: And the stonge
estemed Marcus was sente to them of the ryuer of Ryne.
This we say bycause that Anio Vero fater to Mart Au-
rele emperour had ben prouost and pretour in the offices,
and one of the capitaynes of the frontiers, whiche oughte
to be in Rome one of the persones moste esteemed.

Cwhat maysters Marke Aurelee hadde
in his pouch, cap. ii.

Valle haue not by any autentike historiez, fro whens,
whan, or howe, in what maner, or in what exercyses,
or with what persones, or in what londes was spent a cō-
B. ii. su-

sumed the mooste parte of the lyle of this good emperour.
 But to be shorte, Julius Capitolyne saith, that he had been
 xxiiij. yere vnder the commaundemente of Adrian the em-
 perour. Howe be hit contrary wise is founde by other his-
 toriens, accordyng as saythe Hereto Cheronense in his
 histozie. It was not the custome of the Romaynes emper-
 ors to wryte the thynges doone by these princes, before
 they were princes, but onely of yonge people, beinge in
 their yonge age, haunynge greate and hys magnisfcence,
 and doinge gret interpryses. This semeth to be of trouth:
 for Sueton Tranquill recounteth largely the fearefull
 dedes and enterpryses doone by Catus Iule, done in his
 yonge age, to shewe to princes to come, howe it was a
 great ambition, that they had to atteyn to the monarchy,
 and but of smalle wytte and inaturitie to kepe them selfe
 therin. It is no newe thyng for men that gape for hys
 and crayle thynges. For the more higher the magnisfcence
 is, the more lower they fele fortune. And when they were
 diligent to accomlyshe their desye, as mordre thoughte
 had they to conseue their quietnes and rest. In case that
 that Anio Ulro father to Mathe the emperour, folowed
 the exercise of warres: yet he put his sonne in the way to
 lerne science. For there was a lawe soze vsed and accus-
 med, and well kepte in the Romayne policie, that euerye
 citelen, that enjoyed the lybertie of Rome, and had accom-
 plished .x. yeres: their sonnes shuld not be suffred to goo
 by the strettas as bacabondes, nor it shuld not be suffred
 by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, & daprly toke heede
 to the forsaytes done therin, to suffre a chylde no lengter
 than .x. yeres of his age to play the chylde. But fro thens
 for the the father of the chylde shulde be bounde to noys the
 hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to laye a pledge that
 his sonne shulde do no folyes. Whan Rome triumphed,
 and

and by they policle governed all the woldes. It was cer-
tainly a merueylyous and monstrosous thyng to see the
and no lesse fearefull unto vs to here therof. There
was at that tymie in Rome. lxxiiii. hundred. M. inhabitantes,
amonge whom there was . ii. hundred. M. yonge people,
that were refreynd and hydded from their yonge pleasu-
res. The sounne of Cato was chastysed, bycause he was
wylfull and presumptuous. And also the brother of good
Cyna was banished, bycause he wente ydeily as a vaca-
bound. Without that Cicero begyleth vs in his bookes of
the Romayne lawes, no Romayne ought to staye abzode
in the stretes of Rome, but if he bare in his hāde the signe
or token of the offyce, wherby he lyued. To shewenente that
every man shuld knowe, that he lyued by his trauyale, &
not by the swete of other men. This lawe was kepte of
every persone. The emperour hadde done before hym a
brennyng bronde : The consulle an axe of armes : the
duelles a hat in maner of a cofse : the senatours a longe
in maner of a crufyble on their armes, the sensure a ly-
telle table : the tribunes a mace : the centurions a sygne
or baner, the oratours a boke, the gladiatours a swerde,
the tayllours sheares, the smethes a hammer, and in like
kyse of all the other offices and craftes. We maye knowe
than by this that is sayde, that after that Marc Aurelus
was boorne at Rome, his fater in his youthe had taughte
hym good noxture. And though it so were, that the begin-
nyng of his yonge aye shulde be hydde from vs : at the
least way we are certayne, that the myddel aye and ende
of hym was ryghte glorious. His fater Anio Vero wold
that his sonne Marcus Aurelius shoulde leave feates of
armes, and folowe study. And surelyt it is to be thoughte,
that it was done more by the balyauntes of the father,
than the cowardenes of the sonne, excepte the deedes of

B. iii. them

them that be dead begylle vs that beyn alvyue, and the cause
 iudged by clere understandyngs, and that we synde moe
 sentences of dyuers sadde persons, that there hath benne
 but fewe that ben loste by wrtinges and lernyng, ye and
 a great meynysse fewer that haue had auantage by armes.
 Reuolve all booke, and serche throughe all realmes, and
 finally they shew vs, that very fewe in their realmes haue
 ben happy in armes, but there haue bene many famous &
 renoumed by scripture and lernyng. Take here example
 and se if it be true or not that I saye. Had the Assiriens mo
 than one kynge, that was Ninus, one Ligurie amouge
 the Lacedemonians, the Egyptiens one Ptolome, the
 Hebrewes one Machaber, the Grekes one Hercules, the
 Macedoniens one Alexader, the Epriotiens one Pirthe,
 one hanibal the Carthaginens, and one Julius Cesar
 amouge the Romayns? It is not thus of lerned men: for
 yf the grekes had one Homer, noo lesse the Grekes haun-
 ceth theyn of the, vix. sages, whome we beleue more in
 their philosophy, than Homer in the warres of Troy. For
 as difficile it is to synde a trouthe in Homere, as a lye in
 these sages. Semblably the Romaynes hadde not onely
 Cycero as ryght eloquent, but also they had Halust, Lu-
 can, Titus Liutus, with a great company of noble men,
 and well approued, who hath left right great credence in
 their scriptures in the sainge of trouthe. What loste Cicero
 in the senate for blyng of iuinctiues? And as we saye
 so smal a nombre of Grekes and latynes, we maye saye of
 the Assiriens, Persians, Medes, Argives, Ascyens, Pe-
 ntens, Frenchmen, Britons, Englyshemen, and Spaniardes.
 All the whiche nations withoute comparison
 haue of theym selfe lefft more memorie, and haue honour-
 ed theyr londes and countreyes more by wrting, thanne
 they that haue lefft signes by armes. Than lette vs leaue
 these

these straundre histories, and returnde to the pitche of our
emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Europe recounteth.
According as this excellent baron learned divers sciences,
so he had dyuers maysters to teache hym. He studied gea-
met with a mayster named Euphorion, musyke with an
other named Gemino Comode, eloquence with Alexander
a greke, In naturall philosophy he had to his maysters
Comode Calcedonien an auncient baron, whiche expoun-
ded to hym Homer: and Sexto Cheronense neuew to the
great Plutarche. Also he studied in the lawes, and Volu-
lio Deciano was his mayster. This emperour esteemed
to haue the knowlege of payntyng, and to graue in wood
and metall, in ethre, and other sculptures, in whiche art
his mayster was Diogenito, in his tyme a famous and re-
nowned paynter. He trauiayled also to knowe and serche
what extended to the arte of Frygromancye. By occasion
wherof he wente openly to here Apolonto. And to thentes
that there shulde be nothyng unlearned of hym, he aboue
all sciences sette his mynde to Cosmography, in the whi-
che for his maysters, he tooke Junto Rastico, that sythe
wrote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the whiche wrote of his
desce, and the lyfe of Comode his sonne. Of these noble
and excellent barons, that flourysshed in those dayes, he
was taughte in vertuous and sciences. Cicero lamenteth
the auncient policie of Rome, bycause that he sawe great
losse in the common welthe than presente, sayinge in his
Retorike, that the auncient Romayns had alway regarde
to that parte, where they thoughte mooste damage and
perill shulde grove. There were. v. thynges amonge all
other in Rome, wherbyto they hadde euer a vigilante re-
specte, the whiche the senate needed not to care for, nor no
lawe dispensed for them: and these ben they, the priestes
were honest: and the virgines bestales righte chaste: the
penal-

penalties righte iuste, the capitaines full baltancie ! ther
that taught yonge chyldren were necessarie. It was not
permytted in Rome, that he that was a mayster in Seven-
ces, shulde be discipole of vices.

Cwhat sciences Marcus the emperour learned,
And of a meruallous letter that he
sent to Polyon. Cap. iii.

Phalistrate saythe, that it was demaunded
of Polton, who was the rycheste manne of
the woldre; He answered, It was he that
had moste wylswome. He was demaunded
agayne, who was mooste poore: He aun-
swered, he that had least wytte. Of trouthe
it was a worthy sentence of suche a personne. The effecte
therof we se dayly by experiance, the wyse sydynge in dy-
uers chanches of fortune reueueth hym selfe: The unwy-
ty persone, in very small thynges touchynge his syuyng
not greatly decayed fallethe downe. There is no thyng
that is lost, but that there is hope of recouertyng, if it be in
the handes of a wyse man. And contrarie wise ther is no
thyng so assured, but the recouerance therof ought to be
feared, if a sole haue the guldinge therof. It was axed of
Xenophon the philosopher, whether he hadde rather to be
wyolthe and a greate lord, or to be wyse and poore. He
answering and sayde, I haue pitie of a ryche foole, and
I haue enuye of a wyse manne wanen poore. For if a wyse
man haue but one sore, yet wyll he ryse and kepe hym selfe
from fallynge. And if ye gyue an abbay to a foole, yf by
fortune he fal, he wyll nevere reue agayn; ye may thinke
that the fatter that dieth and leaueth his sonne poore and
wyse, that he leaueth to hym moche. And he that leaueth
his

his sonneryche and foolyshe, I thynde he hath leste hym nothyng. These thynges considered, Anto Vero father of the emperour, as a fader that loued his sonne hertely, was not contente to deliuer one mayster to his sonne to make hym vertuous, and to lerne one science, wherwith he myght occupie his vnderstandyng, but he gaue hym many maysters, that testreynd hym from vices, and commaunded that he shulde lerne many sciences, to thentente that he shulde be the more besly exercised. Whan a howe moche he trauayled to lerne, and what sciences, and with whom, and with what wyll he lerned, and what he knew, he wrote hym selfe, being at Agrrippine, nowe called Colwyn, to a frende of his named Polton, as it foloweth.

Cfrende Polton thou meruaylest why that I leane not to lerne newe thynges at the ende of my dayes. He that hath but one meate to eate, and can nat eate therof, he leuerch it, and peraduenture it was holsom so; hym, and eageth other thynges that he seeth, which maye be hurtfull to hym. It is a great magnificeunce to hym that seeth that he hath dyuers sortes of meates, so that if he haue no lust to one that is good so; hym, he may take of an other, that is better. He that is wyse maye vnderstande me withoute any more declarynge. As in all artes a man is contente at the laste, so at the laste be they never so swete, they torne to a werynnesse. He that knoweth but one science, though he be wyse, yet he remacheth in great daungier. So; beinge annoyed therwith, he wyll occupie his lyfe in other hurtfull thynges. The noble and worthy persones, that caste flouth fro them, haue leste of them eternall memorie, not wyllinge to lerne all onely one science to attempye their vnderstandyng with, but also trauaylie to lerne dyuers other, wherwith they sharp their wittes, to thentente that they be not dulled and made blont. In all naturall thynges

ges, nature is with right lytell contente, but the spirite & understandyng is not satisfied with many thinges. And sith the understandyng is of such condition, that it is losse by libertie, and is lyghtly encombred, with subtilitie & perceþe, with quicknes it knoweth, & with ignorance it wasteth: it is necessarie by tyme to remoue to very his chynges, lest it bow bnto lōwe and p̄ll thyngeſ. All corporalle domages that chaunes to mortall men, are by medecynes healed, or by reason remedied, or by length of tyme cures, or else by deathe ended. The onely understandyng, which is dusked in errours and depraued in malycies, can not be healed by medecynes, nor redressed by reason, nor holpe by counsell. The aunciente philosopers in the sayde happy golden woldē, and golden age, dyd hat all only leyne one thynge, wherby to susseyn their lyfe, and to encrease good fame: But they trauiaylied to knowe all that was to be knownen, and yet euer soughte to knowe more. In the. lxxv. of the Olympiade, as dyuers personnes were assembled in the hygh mountayne Olympius to celebrate the playes, by fortune thither came a philosopher of Thebes, which had made all that euer he broughte with him. He made his shoures, his cote, and sewed his sherte, and had witten his bookes, and so of all other thyngeſ. They that were there assembled, were abashed, and meruaylled greatly that one man coude do it. He was dyuers tymes asked where he learned so many thyngeſ. And he awurded and sayde, the slouthe of man is the cause, that one arte is diuided into dyuers artes. For he that knowethe al artes together, muste nedes knowe one alone. This philosopher answered highly. And surely they that herd him, ought to haue bene as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as the philosopher was of the vaine glory of his apparel. Let every man remembre hym selfe, and let no man blame the
Chor-

Shortnes of the tyme, nor wekenes of our nature. For ther
 is nothing so hard, but it is made soft: nor so high, but it
 may be caught: nor kept so close, but it may be sene: nor so
 subtile, but it may be felt: nor so darke, but it may be ligh-
 ted: nor so profonde, but it may be discouered: nor so dis-
 covered, but it may be gathred to gether: nor so lost, but it
 may be found: nor so impossible, but it may be conserued,
 if with al our hartes we occupie our powers in good exer-
 cises, and applye our vnderstandinge in hyghe thynges.
 I deny not, but our nature is lytell worth: But I know-
 lege that leste worth is our flouthfulnes. I wold demaide
 of euill men, the whiche praye vs to be good, and are the
 councelle of vs for their sensualitie, sayenge that they be
 weyke and frayle, all thoughte they haue vnderstandinge
 to iument euils, and haue strengthe enough to put them
 in effecte, and to percluer therin, they never lacke con-
 stance. The cause is, we calle it naturall for to doo and
 committ vices and misertes. And flouth in vertue we
 calle straunge and weake bycause of the werkes.
 Lette no man infame our nature for behyng weake and
 fapt: nor lare not to the goodes that they be cruell: for
 we haue no lesse abilites to do well, than redynesse to doo
 yll. Lette none lare, I wyl, and I can not withdrawe me
 from vice. It is better sayde, I may, but I wyl not fol-
 owe vertue, I wylle not defame strange realmes, but I
 wyl speake of vs that be lacquies, and by them shall be
 sene howe they haue benne full of malice, and that they
 myght haue done well. I wold wyte of the dedes, that
 Marcus Anthonius dyd with Cleopatra: The proscrip-
 tion that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome. The con-
 surration that Catulina inuented agaynst his countrey:
 The bloudde that was shedde for the cause of Pompeye
 In the camps of Bhariale: And the greate thesse that Ju-

Hus Cesar made of the treasour, the cruelties that Nero
dyd to his mother, the shame that Caligula commited
with his sisters, the treason that Brutus dyd to his father
Caeser, the shewdenes and cruelties that Domitian dyd
to the virgins vestales, the treasons that Julius Patro-
clu s bled with the Syllitiens and Sycilians, the frapes
& murtherers that Ulpio the mariner made in the temples
and churches of Campayne. I wolde knowe of suche as
I haue rehersed, and dyuers other that I haue leste, that
apply ed them to so many shewde turnes, who letted them
(if the v had wolle) to haue applied them in doynges other
good dedes: All this I haue layde my frende Polyon, to
aunswe re to that ye haue demaundyd of me. That is, in
what sci ences I haue wasted and consumed my tyme.

Whereso itt pleaseth me to tellle it to the. Anio Nero my
father ha ffreid me but v. yere in my chylbode: thanne
tyl I was .v. yere of age I went to schole so to write and
reteve, and than fro .v. to .xii. I wente to study with Euse-
mion, and lerned grammer: fro .xii. to .xvi. I lerned elo-
quence with Alexander s greke, a famous oratour: tha-
ster that tyme to .xxii. I was with Herod Calcedon ler-
nyng natural philosophy. Those yeres passed, I was at
Rhodes and studide humanite tyll I was .xxii: yere of
age. And than I wete to Naples, where as I was the yere
with Fonton a greke, lernyng greke letters. And I put
my good wylle too moche thereto, that I speake and wrote
greke moe easilly than latin. Than I retorneid to Rome,
where the warre of Dace arose, to the whiche Adrian my
lorde sent me in persone: and bycause that in armes and
tyme of warre I coude carpe noo booke of science, I
determinyd me to lerne the science of musike with Hieron-
ime Comode, thentent that I myght with swetenes of
instrumentes testrepne my body to certayn vices, whi-
che

che as than in my houle bygan to take force. All the rest
of my lyfe thou knowest it hathene bene in berynge of offy-
ces in Rome, unto the tyme that the wryghte of the mo-
narchie was brought into my handes. Bytherto the empe-
reor spake. Thā by this letter that he wrote to his frēd, it
semeth wel, þ without sleuth he passed his tyme. It is rea-
son to beleue it holly, in that he hath sayd. For so excellente
workeþ he made, & so high sentences as he wrote myght
not procede but of a prudent man, and a very wylle spirite.

To **C**hoise for the wysedome of Marcus many wise
men flouryshed in his tyme. cap. iiiii.

And the lyfe of the prince is but as a whyte fo;
all other to shote at, and and glasse wherin al
the wrold doth beholde, so we se by experiance
that wherunto a prince is inclyned, the peo-
ple trauaylyng to folowe the same, haue no
bulgare discretion to eschewe the euylle and folowe the
good. Certaynly they muse no lesse vpon a countefayte
coule made of fetheris, than thoughē it were of fleshe, and
yet atte the systre syghte hit lesethe the lybertye, and
yet his hunger is not therby quenched. Wheraby all the
wynges of lybertie are tourned to peyne of seruage. It
is a great offence, and an immortall infamye, to a prince,
that in the stede to gyue his hande of good lyuyng to re-
leue other, casteth backewarde his fote of euyll example,
wherby al other ouerthoweth. Than without cōparison
greater is the wyckednesse of the people, than the neg-
ligence of the prince. For if one lyueth yll, and an other fo-
loweth hym, it is no meruaylle: and yet thoughē there be
but fewe that folowe hym, hit is no newe thynge. Nor in
case that many folowe hym, is no fearefull thynge: but al

C.iii.

the

the hole to folowe hym is a great scander. If the people were suche as they ought to be, one shulde rather tourne from p^tll to good for many, than many for one shuld tourne from good to p^tll. Certaynly euery man knowethe, that ys we be bounde to honeste commaundementes of our p^pynes: yet we be not bounde to folowe they^r p^tle lyuyng.¹⁵¹ What shall we saye nowe than, seynge that nowe adayes the delytes of men are of soo greate p^cice, and the rygour of their empire in so poze estimation, that without shame some disp^yaise their iust commaundementes, and folowe their euyll werkes. O if the princes had suche nomb^re of good folke, that wolde fulfyll they^r commaundement, as they haue greate nomb^re of suche w^tches that folowe their doinges, I swere that there shulde be no nede of any p^rison for the myslingers, or cartans for blasphemers, chatines for sclauens, or beddynge blockes for traytors, nor knyues for aduouters, nor galowes for theues. I wylle gyue you example of all this, wherby ye shall se, that ¹⁵² is trewe that I say. If the kyng be inclyned to hunte, all wyl be hunters: if he be a player, all wyl playe: if he b^e armes, all wyl tourney: if he be an aduouter, other wyl b^e the same: if he be, other wyl be syers: if he be vertuous, all wyl be vertuous and valiant, if he be temperate and moderate, all wyl absteyne: if he be hardye, all wyl be holde. if he be pitiefull, all wyl haue pitie: if he be wyse, all wyl leyne. And to thentente that we blame not alsonely the princis of our dayes, lette vs call to meinoys¹⁵³ the princis of tymes past. Who that hathe redde *Sextus*, *Ciceronense* in his booke called the dyuers inclymacions to g^e that princis haue had, shall fynde that Romulus foun^der¹⁵⁴ of Rome, honoured greatly grauers in stone: *Auⁿtonia Pompilius* his successour honoured p^ristes: *Paulus* *Emilius* mariners: *Caius Cesar* goldsmithes: *Scipio* *Af^gh* *the*

The capitaynes: Augustus Octauis tennys playters: Caligula ruffyens: Tyberius baudes: Cruell Nero swerde
 playters: Claudius wryters: Scilla armozers: Marcius
 his compaygnion grauers of ymages: Vaspasian good
 paynters: Titus his eldest sonne mynistrilles: Domitian
 his myghty brother, crossebowe makers: And aboue all
 other out Marcus Aurelius emperour wyse menne. The
 dyuers inclynations that princes had in dyuers thynges
 hath made to vary the fauour & disfauour of many pryn-
 cis with their people. And as the common people regar-
 deth more fauour than Justice, suche officers are mooste
 fauoured, to whom princes doth mooste inclyne. All this
 we say to shewe howe that in the tyme of this good empe-
 rourwise men were fauoured. If the historians doo not
 lyie, sythe the tyme of Mecena the Romayne, whiche was
 moche more happie to haue wyse menne to his frendes,
 than to inuent newe maner of meates and banketties: vn-
 g this Marcus Aurelius haue passed. xviij. emperours,
 whiche were Julius, Octavius, Tiberius, Caligula, Clau-
 dius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellius, Vaspasianus, Ti-
 tus, Domitanus, Nerus, Trajanus, Adrianus, Antho-
 nius, and Aurelius. And of all these we can fynde al onely
 but two, that fauoured wyse men, that is to say Nerus
 and Trajan. All the other emperours were not onely dy-
 sciples of lyers, but also were persecutours of the trouth.
 This semethe to be trewe, for Julius persecuted Cicero:
 Octavius banished Ovide: Tyberius empoysoned Calu-
 gius, Caligula caused to cutte the thyrotes of. iiiij. oratours
 to gyther: Nero slewe his master Senec: Claudius set
 vnde his uncle Lucan in prisone: Othus hanged by Patroclus:
 Domitian banyshed all the oratours of Rome: And the
 vnlucke more to shewe his curse dnes, whiche wyse men y were ba-
 nched and banyshed went out at one gate, there entred at an other gate
 al

all vnguisites, the whiche by Tytus his brother, had ben
bannished and expelled. And as I saye of thefe fewe in
nombre, I myghte say of many other. Soz certaynely the
wylle men were not thus intredet in the tyme of this good
emperour Marcus: and that this is true it semeth by dy-
uers excellent barons, well lerned in diuers sciences, that
flourished in his tyme: Iuli^o Capitolin recounteth of them
as foloweth. Alexader a greeke, Crassus, Polton, Cutilius,
Antius Macion, Caninius, Crodiaticus, Forvus, Cor-
nelius, Apoloni^o, Antius, Sertius Cheronese, Junius Ra-
sticus, Claudi^o Marcius, Cina Catulus, Claudius He-
uerius, and the renowned Diogenitus paynter, & the wel-
lerned lawyer Volusius Mecianus. All these were in this
emperours palays, and resident in his presence: And yet
for al that he had dyuers other wise persons in Rome, and
abrode in Italy. It was no meruayle to se in those daws,
the multitude of menne that flourished in wysedom.
There was no fater, but if he had two sonnes, he wolde
sette one of theym to studye, and the other accordyng to
the Romayne lawe, shulde be sette to the warres. And of
this emperour wylle of any wylleponge man, aboue al o-
ther he wolde fauour hym.

COf the emperour Marcus sonne named
Merillimus. Ca. v.

MHis emperour Marcus Aurelius hadde only
two sonnes, as Herodian saythe. The greatest
and eldest was called Comode, and the yongest
was named Merillimus. He was a fay-
chylde of peronne, and ryghte vertuous of lyuyng.
With his beautie he drew the eyes of many, and
with his good inclinations he robbed the hattes of al
men.

men. He was the hope of the people, and the glorie of his fathers age. And though the eldest was prince, yet themperour determinyd, that the laste boyne, for his vertues shulde enherite as the eldest: And he that was syryst boyne for his demerites shulde be disherited. And as good desyres in the best tyme fayle often by vnhappy chance, this emperour being of lit. yeres of age, and the sonne of xvi. the glorie of Rome, and hope of the fether, the lyfe of the sonne toke an ende. And as moche was the deth be waryed, as the lyfe desyzed. It was great ptytie, for the senate by reason therof sawe not themperour, nor the olde emperour for sojowe sawe not the senate of a longe space.

Rome was ryght heuy, and the senate withdrew them to the height of the capitoll dyuers dayes. And as the mytles and wyndes cause the leaues to falle that were grene in sommer, and the dedes of honour constraine vs to forget the myshappes of fortune, as a man of highe lpgnage, and of stronge courage, thoughe that sojowe remayne in his harte, and abydethe locked therin, determineth to cleane the braunches of sojowes that is outewarde, faynnyng ioy and myrrh outwardly, kepyng the sojowe with in: Thus Marcus the emperour, as a man whose byne freleth and dyethe, wherin he had all his hope, contented hym with that was leste behynde. Whan his dere sonne Verissimus was deed, he sente for the prince Comode his onely enheritour, whiche syth the chylde his brother was deed, entred not into the palays. And the emperour seyng the proude and outragious pozte of his sonne Comode, bedewed his eien with salee water, remembryng the shame of the one, and the deth of the other. The whiche perceyued by Faustyn his mother, whiche loued hym moste eniently, commandued to haue her sonne awape fro the presence of his father.

D

What

Cwhat wyse aunclent men Marcus chose to strucute his sonne, Cap. vi.



Houghē that the harte of this emperour was occupied with the deathe of his chylde, yet for all that he reysed his vnderstanding, to haue the p̄ince his heire ryght well brought vppe. For certaynely princis bene luche, whan they come to mans estate, as they be broughte vp in their tender youth. The fater than knowyng the frayle inclinations of his chylde, not corespondent to the good gouernance of the empice, as a good emperour sente ouer all Italy for the most wyllest persones in lernyng, the moste famous of renowme, and the mooste vertuous in dedes. And as in dyuers thynges the infamye is greater in the yll doinge by malyce, than the faute of the trespassour by weakenes: so in dyuers other thynges, the comon boyce is more than the secrete vertue. For the whiche occasyon after the assemblynge of these wyse menne, the emperour commaunded to examyne them, and to be informed of the bloudde of their predecessours, of the appoyntmente in all their thynges, and of the treatie of their busines, and of the credence amonge their neigbours, and of the purenes of their lyues, and grauitie of theyz persones, and finally of their sciences, what they coude doo, and this to be done in an order. The astrologiens in astronomie, the musiciens in musike, the oratours in their art of retorike: and some in other sciences. And this not in one daye, but in many, and not onely by information of other, but he wolde knolle hit by his owne propze experiance. Thus they were all examyned, so that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowlege of thynges, wherin we haue great affection, it behouethe to haue strange ad-

wyse, clere understandyng, and propre experiance? so the emperour commaunded to chose out of dyuers a fewe, & of the fewe the wyllest, and of the wyllest the mooste experte, mooste worthy, and mooste auncient. And accordançyng to the viii. artes lyberall there was assigned to every science two maysters: so that the prince was one, and the maysters xiij. This tenowme that the Emperour sente ouer all to haue maysters for his sonne the prince, caused to come to hym moo wyse men from straunge countreys, than of the marches and neyghbours of Rome. The good emperour considerynge that it was no reason, that suche as came to his seruice shulde returne mysoncontented, some with ioyfull wordes, some vpon certayne hope, and some with gifutes and prelentes were dispached, so that they were all pleased. And if this doinge was renowned by the reporte of the wise men, it was no lesse vertuous by the wisedome and worthynes of the emperour to sende them home so well content. For he sent them away as wel satisfied that were overcome, as they were contete that ouercam them. And certaynly they had all reason, for some bare the swete wordes and satisfieng of the fater: and some aboode there charged with the enterpize of the sonne. Yet the good emperour not beinge contented with this, commanđed that these maystres shulde be lodged in his palays, & to eate in his presence, and to accompany his personne, to se if they lyse were confor|mable to their science, and ye their pleasant & well couched wordes agreed in effect with their warkes. It was a meruaylous thynge to se the stude and thought that the emperour had to regarde them, as well in goynge as sedynge.

D.H. Howe

Chowe it chaunced to fyue wyse men, wher-
fore they were put out of the empe-
tors house, Cap. viii.



At the month of Septembre, the xi. day ther-
of, in halowyng the feaste of the Emperours
natvritie, in the same house where as he was
borne, in the place of mounte Cellio, As a
trewande and sole doth lyke hym selfe, and semblably as
he is accustomed to do : Then lyke as one dothe the sem-
blable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to do : soo
the emperour set more his intention on wyse men, than his
ties on soles. He saue. b. of them satte betynge the paue-
ment with their feete, and arose from their places, clap-
pinge their hondes, speakyng lowde, and laughyng ex-
cedyngely, the whiche was no lesse marked of the empe-
rour than beholden. Whan the feaste was done, he called
them abyde, and sayde : Frendes lette abyde with me the
pitifull goddes, and lette the good dedes goo with you.
I haue chosen you to thentent that soles shuld be conuer-
ted to wyse men, but I se wyse men become soles. Do ye
not knowe that with the fyre of myrture golde is drawen,
and by the lyghtenes of soles wyse men are proued? Cer-
tainly the fyne golde defendeth his qualites in the quyc
fournayres : and lykewyse the wyse man shewethe his ver-
tues amonge sooles. wote ye not that a foole can not be
knownen amonge sooles, nor a wyse manne amonge sage
folke. Amonge wise men, the sole is made brighte, and a-
monge soles wise men do shyne. Do ye not knowe what
shame it is to make þ disciples of soles, maysters of prin-
cips? Know ye not that of the couragious understandinge
procedethe the composition of the bodye, the reste of the
person to be the temperance of the tonge; what profyeth
it you

If you to haue an experte tonge, a quicke memorie, a clere understandyng, great science, profunde eloquence, or a swete style, if with all these graces ye haue a wyched will: wherfore wyl wyse men haue their wordes so distincke & moderate, if their wordes be lyght? And to thentente that it shoulde not semme to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyl bryng to you an antike lawe of Rome. In the . vii. table of the lawes of our fathers was written these wordes: We commaunde that a moxe greuous chastyemente be gyuen to the wyse man for a lyghte dede done openlye, than to a secrete murderer. O iust lawe and iust men that ordyned it. For the symple labourer sleethe but one with his knyfe in his angre, but he þ is wise sleethe many with the euyll example of his lyuinge. Curiously I haue regarded, that Rome begynneth to declyne, whā our senate saylethe of meke and wyse senatours, and multiplyethe with these serpētines. The holy senate was adorned with olde prudēt persons, And not withoute teates, I saye at this houre it is full of tanglers and lyers. Aunciently in the scōles of Grece was taughte onyle wordes, leauyng the werkes: and than in Rome was taught to do werkes and leauie wordes. But nowe it is contrayte, for nowe in grece the lyers and tanglers are banyshed, and hath sent them to Rome: and Rome hathe banyshed and sente the good wyse men in to Grece: and in this maner I desyre rather to be banyshed into Grece with wyse men, than to abyde in Rome with fooles. To the prayse of a good man (I swere to you my frendes) that whyles I was yonge, I saue in the senate the philosopher Crisippus (broughte vp with good Traian) speake oftentimes: and he was so swete in his wordes, that many tymes he was harde moxe than. iii. houres together: And he never spake word but it was of eternal memory. And whan soo euer he wet

Dull,

out

out of the senate, I neuer saw hym do dede wherby he des-
 setued to haue greuous peyn. Certainly it was a meruay-
 lous thinge to se & here the estimation of his eloquence, &
 the infamie of his person . All Rome was abashed of his
 high eloquence: and al Rome and Italy were slandered
 with his wycked werkes. The prosperite of Rome dured
 CCC. yere. And so longe Rome was Rome as it had sim-
 plicitie in wordes, and grauitie in warkes . One thynge
 I shall shew you, which is great confusion to them alwyse,
 and great admiryng of them that be dede, that of all the
 auncient men I neuer redde a lyght word that they spake,
 nor an yuell dede that they dydde. What thynge was sene
 than in that gloriouſ worlde, but to reioyce in so gloriouſ
 wyſe men? And now at this daye the worlde is ſo corrup-
 ted, bycause there is ſo many yong corrupt, ſurely I haue
 greaterre enuite of their dedes than of our wrytyngeſ.
 Their fewe wordes and good werkes haue lefte vs exam-
 ple of greate admiryng. And the wyſe men of this tyme
 teache vs openly, and wryte vs ſcretely doctrines of par-
 dition. Than by this that I haue ſayde, and by other ex-
 ampleſ that I ſhall ſay, ye maye knowe, what I meane .
 Whan the realme of Acaye ſubmytted his perillous hō-
 nies and his proude heed to the ſwete obeyſance of the em-
 pire, they drewe them to thiſ condition, that they wolde
 haue benne the hooſtes of the garnyſons of all Alie, and
 not diſciplines of the oratours of Rome. At thiſ ſelon there
 was in Rome a great lord ambassadour of Acaye, tem-
 perate in wordes, and honeſte of lyuyng, with a whyte
 heed: He was enquired of the ſenate, why he was ſo cruel
 to leade into hiſ countrey ſo men of warre pooze and co-
 uetouſ ſquiers, and leauē wyſe men of greate harre. He
 auſwered with ſuche loue as he had to hiſ countrey, and
 with ſuche grauitie as longed to ſuche a person, and alſo
 with

with suche hardynesse as his offyce required. O fathars
conscriptes, O happy people, It is. ii. dayes syth I Pete
any thynge, and. ii. dayes sythe I slept, cursyng the fa-
tall destenyes of fortune, that hath brought me into Ita-
ly, and syghynge vnto the goddis that kepethe me in this
lyfe, bycause my spicte is betwene the harde anuelde and
the impotunate hammer, where as I se all is harde as
the anuelde, wheron the hammer often stryketh. The
thynge moste peryllous amonge all perylles is to make
election : ye constraine me to chose, and myne vnderstan-
dynge can not attayne thereto : and the goddes doo not
shewe me what I haue to chose. If I leade garysones
of menne of armes, it shall be vetye noyfull to the lamp-
lies : yf I brynge aduocates, it shall be peryllous for the
common welth. Sozowfull that I am, what shall I do ?
Oh heuy and vnhappye realme, that abydeth for theym,
and ye cruell that commaundeth them. Than sythe it is
thus, I determinye me to leade them that shall waste our
goodes, and spende them, rather than they that shoulde
corrupte and breake our customes. For a legion and an
army by necessitie may put to affliction and sozowe onely
a people : But an oratour or an aduocate by his malyce
may corrupte a hole realme. Than sayde the empetour to
these wyse men: Frendes howe greatte is the credence of
ignorant people, and losse of lerned men. Wherfore shuld
they of Acaye rather gyue meate to poore soldyars men
of armes, than to haue for their neyghbours oratours and
wyse speakyng aduocates? So whan this communica-
tion of the empetour was ended, the. v. greatte maysters
wente away with greatte shame, and the. ix. other taryed
with great feare. In all this while it passed not two mo-
nethes after, that the prince Comode was come from his
noyses, where as he hadde lerned the doctrine of luckyng
of

of brestes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of great delicate understandyng. This prynce Comode was born in Rome on the mounte Cellio, and nourished at the gat of Hostie. He was more welbeloued of Faustina his mother, then hated of Marcus Aurelius his father. And to speake with all due honour amonge theym, the mother helde her so certayne to be the chyldes mother: and the chylde accordyng to his customes was moche lyke his mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his sonne, bycause he resembled but lyttell in vertues to the father.

Chowe the emperour reasoned with the maysters
that shulde lerne his sonne.ca. viii.

A These matters beinge passe, the good emperour so to esteme the thynges that he hadde done, and to pouruey so that he had to do, he called asyde the nyne wyse men and sayde to them, There is greata fame in Rome of that I haue done in thempire, to do suche dylgencie as to dyscover all the wyse men, and of the curiositie that I haue shewed as in certaynyng of the beste. If of trouthe ye be wyse, ye can not be sclaudered of any thyng. The annoyance of yll thynges cometh of wylsdome and vertue but the admiryzation of good thynges procedethe of small understandyng or lesse experiance. The wyse person wyll suffice none admiryzation. To shewe at the fyfte bront motion in every thyng, sheweth to be constant in nothyng. I haue made strayte examynatiō among you, for so ought suche to passe as shulde be admittēd to strayte amityes. Few amities is wety in thze dayes, and euer haue I sen and proued by experiance, that frendes lyghtlye taken

are lighlye leste agayne. I chaunced in cumpanye of an
auncient Romayne, whiche was all whyte for sege: and
bycause he merited it, I called hym fathur, and he for loue
and nurture called me sonne: the whiche in case of aduen-
ture enquired many thynges of me; but I wolde make
hym none awnswe. Than he sayde these wordes to me:
*Son beholde, In the lawe of frendshyp it is written, that
the frende in all thynges trusteth to his frend, first regar-
dynge who is his frende. Surely this counsell was good.*
The curios man of armes (if he wyl bye a horse) first he
wyll se hym tenne and assayed, or he speake of the sale of
hym: if he please hym not, though he myghte haue hym
for a lesse pice, he wyll not haue hym: ys he please hym,
what so euer the pice is set, he wyll not leauie hym. Than
it is a lefull thyng, that the beaste be examyned and felte
et he be had into the stable. In lyke lyse a man shulde be
examyned, er he be receyued in to amitie. And ys the
horse that eateth but hey, strawe, and otes, be leste for one
yllatche, moch moze the frende, whiche is the intestyne
of the harte, and oughte to kepe our secretes and affecty-
ons, for dyuers fautes ought not to be receyued in to the
same. There was a philosopher named Arispo, the syoste
that was in the tyme of Villa and Marius, who sayde,
that frendes ought to be lyke good horses: That is to say,
that they ought to haue a lyttell heed by humble conuer-
sation: quicke of hetynge, to the entent that they be redy
whan they are called: a softe mouth, to thende that they
tongue be temperate: The houe of the fote harde, to suf-
fer trauyale: and they handes open to doo good dedes:
their fete sure to perseuer in amytie: a baye colour for his
good renowme: And fynally the hors retournethe, that is
the manuell frende: and thereto is toynd these wordes:
That is, that he be without curbes or byttes: and that he
maye

maye go where as any fatall destynes tourmeth the bys
 bell and reyne of fortune. The goddes vnderstante me,
 though that men can not atteynetherto or comprise it. Re-
 tourmyng than to the purpose, I wylle knowe, bycause
 I haue taken you for frendes, not to putte you away at
 length. And though that cherytrees produceth their flow-
 res in februarie, we abyde not to haue the cherries but in
 Maye. Frenedes ought to be as molberies, that in such
 tyme producethe their berries, whiche is theyr fruite, that
 they feare not the frostes of Maye, as the vynes doo:
 no; the mynches of Octobre, as the peche, and quinces do.
 I wyl not that they come whan the prosperite is good,
 and go away whan the fortune is nought. For that is no
 pointe of true frenedes. As the lyes of wynes cause the dy-
 hardes to homyt in the tauernes, lyke wise aduersitie dy-
 ueth a way faynt frenedes out of the house, bycause the ser-
 vice is not acceptable, without the wyl be knowen of him
 that dothe it. Than holde you sure of my contention,
 sythe that I haue it of your warkes. I come nowe to the
 effecte of our pourpose. I haue taken you for to be may-
 sters of this chylde: and regarde that I haue taken you
 fewe amonge many, to thende that my sonne shuld be no-
 ted amonge fewe. His nurses at the gate of Hostie haue
 gyuen hym two yeres sucke of theyr mylke, and his mo-
 ther Faustyne hath gyuen hym other two yeres to spoyle
 hym in the Palays, And I lyke a good father wyl gyue
 hym xx. yeres of chastisement. It soore displeaseth the Fa-
 styne his mother to leaue hym so lone, and I am sorry that
 I toke hym so late. It is no meruayle, for these womenne
 with theyr lyghtnes, and these chyldyn with theyr smalle
 knowlege occupie them selfe in thinges present: But wors-
 thy wylle men ought to thynde on that is passed, and also
 to oþdeyne for that that is present, and with great studi to

propide for the tyme to come. I thynke on every daye in
 the yere, and of the day, that the goddes haue gyuen me,
 and of the day that I gyue vnto you. The goddes to me
 and I to you doo gyue hym mortalle to be as a man, and
 than you to me and I to god do tender hym immortall to
 be wyse. What wylle ye that I saye more? Certaynly
 god hath made hym man amoung men by the soule: and
 I haue engendred hym a beaste amoung beastes by the
 fleshe, ye shall make hym a god amoung goddis by shape.
 I demaunde of you a thynge, whiche is, I haue not gy-
 uen to my chylde but mortalle fleshe, wherwith he shall
 take an ende of his lyfe: but ye shall gyue hym doctrine,
 wherwith his memorie shall never perishe. If his yowthe
 knew the weke and saynte fleshe that I haue gyuen hym,
 and that his dulle vnderstandinge maye reache to the
 wisedome that ye maye gyue hym, he wolde calle you fa-
 thers, and me an yl stepfather. And though he say not so,
 yet I confesse it, that is, that the naturall fathers of the
 fleshe are stepfathers of noblenes, sythe that we gyue the
 naturalitie of them subiecte to so many mutabilitie, and
 honde and captiue to so many miseries. For certayne ye
 shall be iuste fathers to hym, yf as nowe ye canne enable
 his fleshe in good custommes, and to byynge his vnder-
 standyng to be occupied with high sciences. And syrs, re-
 plete it not smalle, that I comynche to your charge and
 arbytrement, that thynge whiche princis oughte most to
 regarde, that is, to se to whom they comynche the nou-
 shynge of their chyldren. To be maysters of princiis in
 exche is to haue the offyce of þ goddes that ben in heuen.
 For they gouern him that hath cure to gouerne vs: They
 endoctryne hym that shulde teache vs, they shewe vnto
 hym, that ought to shewe vs: Chastise hym that oughte
 to chastise vs: and synally they commaunde one, the whi-

C.ii,

che

the afterwarde alone maye commaunde all the woldē.
 So what wyl ye that I shal say more: for certaynē they that
 haue the charge of a prince, be the gouernall of the woldē.
 The standerde of an army, the gouernance of people, the
 guyde of wayes, the shylde of kynges, the treasure of all,
 bycause they haue amonge their handes hym that after-
 warde oughte to gouerne all the woldē. And furthermore
 to thentente that ye haue hym in moze estimation, I wyll
 tell you, that in gyuyng my sonne vnto you, I do gyue
 you more than if I had gyuen you a realme. The pure &
 cleene lyupnge of the sonne alþue, is the glōtous same of
 his father that is deade. For of hym, that the sonne tru-
 stethe in his lyfe, dependethe the renowme of the father
 that is deade. Thus haue ye hadde the goddis atte
 wylle, and the bryttel destreyves of fortune happy to you,
 as vnto this houre ye haue not watched with chyldren of
 straungers. fro hensforþe the wakeye with the prince, whi-
 che is the profite of all other. And take good heede my fre-
 des, that there is greaterre difference in bryngyng bype of
 princis chyldren, thanne to teache pong boyses of the com-
 mon people. The moste parte of them, that come to scho-
 les, come for to lerne to speake, but I delyuered not my son
 Comode to you to lerne hym to speake manþ wordes, but
 for to sette him in the way to do good dedes. The glozie
 of folyshe fathers is to se they, chyldren, bainquishe other
 in disputyng: but my glozie and ioy is to se my sonne sur-
 mounte other in vertue: bycause the glozie of the Grekes
 was to speake moche and to do lytell, and the glozie of
 the Romaynes is to doo moche and to speake but lytel,

Chowe the masters of princis oughte
 to kepe them from vices
 Capitulo. iii.



Irenus Aurelius folowyng his pourpose,
 ioyned to his foreshayde wordes, and sayde;
 Regarde well my frendes, and forget not,
 that I trust you in myne honour, who am
 my sonnes father, and of the studye of Co-
 mode my sonne, and of the glorie of Rome
 my natural countrey, And of the solace and rest of Rome,
 whiche is my subiect: Of the gouernaunce of Italy, whi-
 che is your countreye: and aboue all thynges of the peace
 and tranquillite of our comon welthe. Than he that is
 put in trusse with suche administration of other, hathe no
 cause to slepe. Nowe lette vs come to moze particular
 thynges. Regarde as nowe, what thyngis is mooste con-
 uenable for my sonne, whiche as a yonge colte wolde goo
 play in the grene medowes, and noysome shall be the ke-
 per to hym, & a thyngay painful to kepe hym therfro. The
 first thyng, wherof I pray you, is to gyue hym a stronge
 bidel, and a sharpe bytte, to thentente that he be wel mou-
 thed, so that none take hym with lyes. The greatest faute
 that can be in men of honestie, is to spare the trouthe, and
 not to be heritable: And the greateste bilanye in a vil-
 layne is to be gyuen in largesse of lyes. Sette good or-
 der bypon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entente
 that he accustome hym not to demaunde to play at the ta-
 bles and dyce with suche as he losse and noughe.
 The gretteste token that a prince woll lose and distroye
 the empire, is whan in his yonge age he is knownen to be
 vicious in playe. The playe is suche a vice, that who soo
 ever it bytethe, hit is lyke the bytyng of a madde dogge,
 the whiche rage endureth vnto deathe. I recomandende to
 you my chylde, though he be yonge, make hym sad and mo-
 derate. Certaynly it is not so great a glore vnto a pypnce

to haue the crowne on his heed, nor a chayn of gold about his shulders, nor the scepter in his hande, nor the greate company and garde that he hath about hym, as to shewe sadnesse from his youthe. The open honestie supplieþ many fautes and debilitiess. Spare not to caste on hym a stronge chayne, and to tye hym faste, that he go not to deyltes and banitieſ. For an effeminate person never hathe spirite to any hye or noble dedes. I am greatly satisfied with that the techer of Nero sayd to his disciple: Though I wylſt that god wilde pardon me, and that men knewe no myſſe of me, for the vilanye of the fleshe, I wilde not synne in the fleshe. Surely they were good wordes, and will boorne away of Nero. Let not yet go the reyne. For ye he ſe the yonge mares, he wyl neygh or bray if he ſe tyme, The byce of the fleshe in all tymes, in all ages, and in al estates holdeth his ſeaſon or course, if it paſſe not in the grene age of chyldehoode, caſhyng out the reyne of reaſon, & ſtryken with the ſputres of the fleshe, and blowing with the trompe of sensualitie: Takynge the biddell in the teeth with a furious wyll, rennyng through mountayns and woddes after the mare: In leauynge her goinge but softly, and in the ouertakynge moche leſſe. And than afterward being therin delyberat, þ body remayneth impotent, the vnderſtandynge acloped and blynded, the reaſon troubled, the good name lost, and yet neuertheleſ at the laſte the fleshe remayneth fleshe. What remedy for this? I fynde none other but that a greate quicke fyre couered and laden with eth dieth. And whan the vitiouſ man is layde in his graue, he maketh an ende and may never correcte hym ſelue. Wherefore I aduyle you to gyue no place to this yonge chylde to be viciouſ. And in the chaſtifying of hym, gyue no respyte, though he be yonge, and my childe, and wel loued and cherylched with his mother, and though

though he be the only heire of thempire. With chyldren of
a stranger crueltie is tiranny, but with a mans own child
yonc is the occasion of his losse in time to come. It is she-
wed vs by trees, howe we ought to noylle our childre. Of
trouthe the chesnayn trees bryng forth the soft swete chest-
nutte out of the sharpe prickinge & hard huske: And on the
nut trees amonge the swete softe leaues, is nourished the
harder nutte. Applieng this to our purpose, we haue sen
a piteful farther, bryng forthe a cruell son, and a cruel fa-
ther a piteful sonne. He that was lerned amonge all other
lerned, and renoumed amonge al other renoumed, Lygur-
gus king of the Lacedemoniens, in giuinge his lawes in
his realme, I rememb're to haue red therin these wordes:
We commaunde as kynges, & pray as men, that al thinge
be forgiuen to them that be olde and broken: and to them
that be yonge and lusty, to dissimule for a tyme: & nothinge
to be forgiuen to very yonge chyldren. In good sooth these
were good wordes spoken of suche a persone, and semeth
reasone. For it is reason that the hors that hathe rounne
and passed his course of cariage, shoulde rest hym. And
who that hath passed rightously, it is Justice that he be
suffered in rest. And the chylde that wylle passe reasonne,
ought to be reformed. Cause hym to be always occupied
in vertuous actes. For if the vnderstandynge be dulled,
and the bodye slouthfull in suche aege, with greate diffi-
cultur wylle they drawe to thynges that be straunge to
their delectacions, bicause that the lyghtenesse is in the
heed, and reasonne vnder the eyes. His youthe wylle de-
maunde you some recreation, whiche ye shall consider, so
it be not often nor to seldome. Fyrste that it be by reasone:
Secondely that they be taken in noble exercyses. Take
here, for I gyue not my sonne unto you, that ye shulde
gyue hym recreacion, but onely for to teache hym,

The

The henne hauninge her egges vnder her wynges, in that
 season goth not abrode in the yarde, and though the eg-
 ges be not her owne, yet she hatcheth them, as if they
 were her owne. For this cause at this tyme in Rome of a
 C. disciples. lxxx. cometh forth without doctryne, for if
 their masters wast two houres of doctrine with the, they
 lese with the xx hours in mockery. And therof it is, that
 of the smal grauitie of the master, springeth great bold-
 nes and lytell shame in the disciple. Beleue me frendes,
 that the teachers to princes, and masters to disciples, pro-
 fit more in one daye with good examples, than in a yere
 with many lessons. My sonne seyng you drawe to ver-
 tues, wyl dawe to the same, if he se you studie, he wylle
 study, if he se you peisable, he wyl be styll: he seinge you
 temperate in fedinge, wyl eate but lyttel: seing you sham-
 faste, he wyl feare you, seinge you restefull, he wyl reste,
 and if ye do contrary, he wyl do contrarie. This surely
 is true, for the auncient men onely with the euyl that they
 se, eyther do they corrupte their bodies, or sculauder their
 owne iugementes, as chyldyn do, that can say nothyng
 but that they here: nor do nothyng but that they se. I wil
 also that the prince my sonne lerne the. vii. artes lyberall.
 For I haue taken many of you, to thentent that ye shulde
 teache hym moche. And if at the laste we shulde be sozow-
 full, bycause he hath not learned all, we shal not be sorie, if
 he knowe moche, nor thynke his tyme vll spent, nor be be-
 gyled, in saying, that he knoweth inough, of that so yong
 a chylde shulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire. I be-
 ty philosopher after the lawe of lygnage oughte to haue
 speche at place and tyme conueniente, to syght in the feld,
 and to speake in the senate. If my owne remembraunce be-
 gyle me not, amouge myn antiquities I haue brought a
 ston out of Grece, the whiche Pitagoz as p philosopher
 helde

held at the gates of his schole, wher in was written with
his owne handes these wordes: He that knoweth not that
he ought to know, is a brute beast amonge men: He that
knoweth no more than he hath nede of, is a man amonge
brute beastes: He that knoweth all that may be knownen,
is a god amonge men. O mooste highe wordes, Glorious
is the hande that wrote them, the whiche not at the gates,
as they were than oughte to be witten, but within mens
breastes they shulde to be paynted and grauen. Our fore-
fathers toke the laste sentence of this phylosopher, and
the synte rebuke abydeth to vs they: last chyldren. For cer-
taine amonge the Grekes and Lacedemontians was at-
tayned as moche same by they: philosophers and conque-
sors, as by they: writinges, which they haue lefte vs. And
our former emperours gatte no lesse loue in they: empire
by they: profounde eloquence, thanne they feared all the
worlde by they: noble triumphes. For a profe wherof be-
holde Julius Cesar, whiche beinge in the myddell of his
campe, with his lyfte hande wolde holde his speare, and
his penne in his ryght hande. Ne he never leste of his ac-
moure, but for the with he toke his bookes. We must not laye
excuses, sayinge with them that be ignorant, that the ly-
berall artes are to hye, and the tyme that we haue verye
shorte. For certayne the diligence of men in tymes past,
repoueth our slouth at this day. One thyng I do se, that
in a shorte whyle we lerne al yll, but in a longe season we
can not lerne goodness. Wyll pese, what is our fortunes
and destynyes, and in what thought the goddes doo kepe
vs, that for to do one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to
do many shrewde tournes we haue to moche tyme. I wyl
say no more, but that I wolde my chylde shulde be nour-
ished in suche wise, that he shoulde letne the feare of god,
the science of philosophers, the vertues of aunciente Ro-
manes,

maynes, the quietnes of pou his maysters, and the good-
nelle of all them that be good, as he hath taken of me to
be the heire of the empire. I protest to the immortal god-
dis, to whom I trust so to go: and protest to the high ca-
pitoll, where my bones shall be brenet, that neþter Rome
now in my lyfe, noȝ the heuens in tyme to come shal curse
me after my death, if by þil lyuinge my sonne shoulde lese
the common welch, if by your small chastisement þe shall
be cause of the losse of the empire.

How þemperour Marcus nourished the prin-
cesses his daughters. Cap. L.

Marcus Aurelius the emperour had but two
sonnes, that is to witte, the pynce Comode
and Verissime: He hadde fourre daughters
by Faustyne his wyfe legitimate and he-
retes of thempye. This emperour was ex-
dyng diligent soȝ to noryshe his daughters. As soone
as any of theym were boȝne, soȝtwith they were put to
nurse into some ferme with oute Rome: He wolde never
suffre anye of his chyldryen, sonnes noȝ daughters, to be
nourished within the walles of Rome: Nor consenthe, that
they shulde sucke the brestes of delicate women. He ha-
ted delicate and gay nurses, and they that were laborous
homely and holsome he loued, & to them and none other
he betoke his chyldryen to nouryshe, and he wolde never a-
gree, that they shoulde be brought home to his house.
He was wonte to saye in his sportynge: I haue moȝe a-
doo to contente these nourisshes, than to mary my dough-
ters. Homer sheweth, that in Grece there died Arthemio,
that was kyng of Argive withoute anye sonne to inhe-
ryte: and the nurse that hadde nourysshed hym, with all
hes

her myght demanded the realme for a son of hers, whiche hadde sucked of the same mylke that the sayde kynges had done, allegyng, that syth they were bothe nouryshed togider, & sucked one mylke, that they bothe shulde enherit one realme. This sayde Homer, to reproue the nourynges of Grece, whiche take more p[re]sumption for nouryngage of princis, than quenes dyd in bearynge of them. Therefore this noble Marcus Aurelius emperour, wolde not that his daughters alone shoulde sucke grosse and tude mylke, but he wolde not agree, that any reuerence honour or seruice shulde be done vnto them, as it belongeth to the chyldyn of so hygh princiis to be done, and as the custome is to be doone. On a day as the sayde emperour was at supper, a foole named Galindo, at whose woxdes the emperour often toke pleasure, sayd, Hy[er]o persterdaye I came from Salon, and fro the gate of Hostie, and there I sawe the emperours chyldyn go lyke labourers, and I se here in thy hous labourers chyldyn go lyke emperours : Telle me, why do ye dissimule as a wyse man, for I that am but a foole vnderstandeth hit not. The emperour aunswered : O Galyndo, bycause that yet at this tyme Rome is not Rome, all though he thoroughhe all the woldē hit be renowmed Rome. In my selfe I fynde farre more assuraunce, that my chyldyn begynne lyke poore labourers, and ende as ryche emperours, thanne to begynne as ryche emperours, and ende as poore squires. Doest thou not knowe why Italy is nowe lost? They wolde haue they chyldyn to be wantonly and delicately nouryshed, and wyl not suffre them to lyue in trauayl, and to leaue they heires poore and nedye, and them selfe to ende in greate peryll. This answe was so excellent in fame, that it was euer taken for a prouerbe in Rome. Whan this emperours daughters were of two yere olde,

f.ii. incon-

incontinent he prouided woenen and maystresses sy to te-
 the chyppm. **S**extus Cheronense saythe, that he serched a-
 monge the auncent matrones of Rome, whiche were clea-
 nest of lyke, mooste esteemed of good fame, of noblenesse of
 bloudde, of ladde witte, and that had ben mooste vsed in
 bringyng vp of princis chylbren. This emperour was so
 thoughtefull in the oderuyng and teachynge of his chyl-
 bren, that he wolde haue no woman, but if she were of l.
 yere of age at the leaste, and x. yere a widowe, and that she
 hadde nourished a. C. chylbren daughters of senatours:
 Imagining that she that had medled into many thynges
 of other mens shulde not be ignorant in her owne. After
 that he hadde prouyded these maystresses, he caused his
 daughters to be brought to theyp houses, and there gaue
 them their charge. And fro the birth of any of his dough-
 ters he wold never consent, that they shuld come in to his
 palays, tyll they shulde haue husbandes. It chanced that
 Faustyne the empresse chylde a daughter, and she beinge
 certified, that it was like her, and very faire, moued with
 a softe herte of womanhood, and with a motherly harte,
 prayed the emperour, that the sayde chylde myght be nou-
 rished in her presence, sith every man sayde the chylde was
 so faire and so lyke vnto them. The emperour aunswered
 and sayde: Faustyne syr those thynges that all other haue
 sayde to you, dothe it beseme you to demaunde this of me?
 But I that haue red in this case, and in other cases haue
 sene, in no maner ought to condiscende thereto. Do you
 not knowe, that the tyme that the doughter is nourysched
 in the house, the father is charged with thought, the mo-
 ther with wantō flatteringes, enuy in the bietherne, bold-
 nes in the doughter, and foly in the nouryce. I wold wit
 of you, if she were nourysched in the house: what profyt-
 teth it, if her maystres teache her faddenesse and honestie
 with

with her wydes : and we entice her to lewdenes with our
wykes and dedes : what profiteth it, if the daughter de-
serue chastisement, that the mother flatter and make her
wanton ? Moze reason it were that your daughter shulde
folowe the good doinges of you that are her mother, than
the wordes of the straunge wydew that is her maystres .
Marke well Faustyne, if ye ought so rejoyce at her chyl-
dyshe toys . Remembre that the pleasure of yong children, is
but chyldyshe and trifles . But if you nouryshe them not
well, as the pleasures were ioyful whan they were yonge,
so whan they be olde to restrayne them shall be greater di-
spleasure . Therfore if you be vertuous, withdrawe they
tappynge trifles as nowe, for them that shall be vertuous .
I wyl tell you one thyng . I wold rather my doughters
in myn absence shulde be disciples to vertues, than to be
maystresses in lewdenesse in my presence . And sythe it is
so, I desire you, require it not of me . And I desire you that
it be not soo . I am importune on you, that ye be not im-
portunate on me . I pray you, that you pray not me . Orels
I commaunde you, that you demaunde it no more of me .
This harde answere of the father ceassed the importu-
nitie and pitiefulle requeste of the mother . Thus fau-
stine all fearefull, seinge the father within the walles of
Rome, durst not go see her doughter without, but as piti-
uely as she myght .

Chowe Marcus thempour dyd chose and pro-
ued his sonnes in lawe . Cap . xi .



The wise as Marcus Aut. the emperour sur-
mounted in vertues al mortall men þ died, so
for certayne in mariage of his doughters he
seimed to be bin to the goddes, þ euer lyue; a by-

f. iii.

the

the grace and gyfte of god, or by his fortune, he was as happy in vertuous sonnes in lawe, as greely infortunates of dyhonest doughters. After the dethe of the good olde man, with the smalle thoughte of the p^rince his sonne in his gouernance, and vngoodly name of his doughters in they^r lyuinge, it semed to haue made an ende of the gloriouſ memorie of the fathet, but if it were by the souerayne goodnes of his sonnes in lawe, that he had chose by his lyfe tyme. It is dayly ſene, that the losſe of the fathet by euyll chyldeſne, is wonne by vertuous sonnes in lawe. Than Marcus Aurelius conſiderynge hufbandes for his doughters, tolke not of dyuers that the vanitie of the worlde offered hym: but of a fewe that of manye folkes were eſtemed to be of good behauour, and that to his ſemyng were ſuche in dede: And, as in mariages al the er-cour is to couete goodes that be in the purſe, and not to examyne the perſon that is broughte to the house, He re- gaſtynge this, maried not his doughters to ſtrange kin- gies, but to naturall borne ſenatours, and not to ſuche as diſcended fro hygh lygnage, as were the Sipions, Fa- bricions, and Coquates: but to ſuch that with their her- tues reyled newely good lygnages: Nor he maried them not to ſuche as were preſumptuous of the prowes and dedes of theyr predeceſſours: but to them that reſplendy- ſhed by the dedes of theyr owne perſons. Not of trouthe he chose none that were very ricche, but ſuche as were ver- tuous: noſ ſuche as were ſoone moued, but ſuche as were quiete: not the hyghe mynded: but to the moderate, that were no boſters, but shamefaſt: no bablers, but ſmal ſpe- kers: no quarellers, but lulfers: not to preſumptuous, but to them that were meke, nor to hasty men, but to them that were pacient: not to them that were eſtemed amouge the commons, but unto them that deserved laude amouge wyle

wise men. In this maner he trusted no person, for he mar-
ried not his daughters to such as were prayzed a faire of;
but to them that of longe tyme had ben proued nerehand.
In good saythe herem his reason was good. For in the
thyngē that toucheth a mannes honour, he that is wyse
ought not to trust in the onely information of strangers:
For he is not wyse, that is so hardy to do all thynges by
his owne semynge and opinion. And he is but a symplic
personē, that wyl do all thyngē after the opinion of stran-
gers. And in these poyntes the emperor Marcus had a
good respecte to kepe them: In walkyng good rest, In
speakyng great eloquence, in eatynge good temperance:
In aunsweryng great subtiltie: In his sentences and
determinacions great grauitie. And therfore in this cas
of mariage he was ful of grauitie tylle he was therin deter-
myned. And this only came not of hym, but of other, whā
they came to pray hym. It befell that in a feast of the god
Janus, the emperor goynge to the campe of Mars up-
pon a lusty hors syers and flyngyng, he mette so rudely
with a trumpetour, that coursed as a knyght vpon a hors,
that with the stroke of metyng the trumpetour was ouer-
thowden with his hors, so that he was slayne, and them-
perours hors legge broken, and his owne fote hurte, and
his arme out of synte. So greatly encreased his hurte,
that he was in perylle, Jealye in heuynes, and all Rome
was in doubte of his lyfe. And bycause a fewe dayes agoe
that he had communication of a mariage for his thyngē
doughter, named Matrina, for the determination that he
shulde haue made the same day, greate suite was made to
hym. But for the greate peyn of his arme, and the bloude
that was congeled in his bodye, and the anguylshe that
was at his harte, as for the demaunde that was offred
hym, he defered the aunswere tylle an other daye. The
which

Whiche have commen, in open presence he sayde in this
manner.

CWhat the empereour Marcus sayde to the fa-
ther of a yonge man that wolde marye
one of his daughters. Capit. xii.



Freintimes I haue sene in other, and haue pro-
ued by experiance, that the smalle conservati-
on passed, and the great acceleration in busyn-
nesse nowe present, maketh great inconveni-
ences in time to come, onles that at that point
the thyng be commyng to the vertue of some wyse per-
sonne, rather than to his owne sole opinion. Neuer theles
in the case of mariage though the father be wise, yet with-
out the opinion of an other he ought not to determinyn him
lyghtlyso; enuyous fortune, though he shewe her selfe
somwhat frowarde in al thynges, yet in this case of mari-
age, he ouerthoweth more than in al the other. He that
wyll speake of mariage, oughte to entre into his owne se-
cretenes, and to thynke profoundely theron, as of a thinge
that al his welthe lyethe in his credence, his lyfe, his ho-
nour, his good fame, the reste of his owne personne, and
his fleshe, whiche is his chylde. I am of opinion, that if
all wise men were molten in a fournayes, they coude not
gyue one good counsell to make a mariage: And wolde ye
that I, whiche am simple, shulde do it lyghtly by my selfe.
Truely therin behoueth ryte and sad counsell. For ones
fallen in to the peryll therof, none may haue remedy with-
oute greater perylle. The renowned Marcus Portius,
whose lyuyng was a myroure in his dayes, and his wro-
thes and councels remayne so: a remembraunce, sayd open-
ly in the senate: O noble fathers and happy people, by the
decrees

vinces openly proclapined in places accustomed. I know
that in a counsel and senate ye ordyned thre thinges, that
is, ye vnderooke to make a newe warre agaynst the Sar-
casses, to continue the enmitie agaynst the Venetians, and to
marrie. b. hundred matrones of Rome, to. b. C. knygh-
tes of Mauritania. And certaynely I am abashed, that a-
monge wylle men so hygh assayres shulde be so soone and
sodainely concluded and determined. To satisfie myn un-
derstandinge, and for the good wylle that I owe to the
country, I shall saye one woyde, that is, to begyn warre
and to pursue hattred and yll wyll, and to conclude mari-
ages. In these causes a man ought to aske councell of all
the men of the worlde, and al the goddis ought to correcte
and amende it. And x. M. counsaylynges wolde be hol-
den vpon eche of these thynges. These woydes were wox
thy of great recommendation. For one thyng by dyuers
opinions ought to be determinyd: But many thinges by
one opinion oughte not to be determinyd. And if this be
for all thinges, it serueth then most specially in mariages.
My credes, ye say, that he that offreth hym to be my sonne
in lawe, is greatly desyred loued and wel named amonge
the common people. To sell suche marchandyse, set it not
in so yll a shewe. The credence of an honest manne lyeth
not amonge the common boyce of the people, but amonge
philosophers: not amonge many, but amonge fewe: not
amonge howe many, but what they be. ye know your selfe
that at this houre all that the commons thynke is but a
dayne thyng: that they prayse is false: that they con-
dempe is good, that they approue, is nought, that they
gloowe is shamefull: and finally al that they laude, is but
folys. Theyz praysing beginneth with lyghtnes, their so-
lowynge without oder, and it endeth with fustie. O how
manyp haue I sene in Itallye lyke the lies of wyne cast out

of the state; and after put as syre brondes obtournes in
Rome, by whose opinions the comon welch is gouerned;
and with great lyghtnes men put downe, and with no les
lyghtnes exalted agarne. Beholde here, that the workes
of the people are holden in mockage with wyse men: and
that that is agreed amounghe theym, is esteemed but for ba-
nities with wisemen; for that that is meale with philoso-
phers, is eaten but for branne and chaf with sympyle folk:
and contrarye wise the meale of the sympyle, is but branne
& chaffe amounghe wise men: Of all that our predecelsours
haue syfted, in these dayes the chyldren of vanytye worke
thereafter, for they wyl be desyred, and hate to be hated.
All suche holdeth a generall rule, that every man that de-
syreth to be beloued of every man openlye, can not escape
fro dyuers secrete fautes. Shall I tel you who is best be-
loued nowe adayes? Then harken to me, and I wyl tell
you, as moch as it toucheth, to whom it may touch, hurte
who it may hurte, sele it who that may sele it. The people
loueth hym, that can dissimule with them, that be nougat,
and envious of theym that be good, and suche as fauour-
lyers and setteth trouth abyde, and suche as accompani-
eth with mankyllers and murtherers, and to be serued of
theues, and fauoureth quarellers, and pursueth suche as
be peasseble, delyuereth the offenders, and sleeth the innocentes,
renometh them that be shamefull, and shameth them that
be of good fame: Finally he his most set by, þ puttieth them
that be good fro hym, and is the most bayne among them
that be bayne. Certaynely there is greate suspicion to set
hym amounghe wyse men, that is allowed of all soles. And
the reason therof is, that the commons lyghtly loue none
but men that with malycie restrayneth them that be vertuous,
and letteth the rayne clipppe to them that be vicious.
Truely wyse men haue hym as suspect that the commons
desire,

despre, whiche wylnot be despleased with his yl doinges.
A howe often tymes doth the goddis permitteth the ambi-
 tious man in honoures, that prosecuteth to do yll many daies
 without Justice, and doth not beholde the sodayne hole
 losse therof with shame? Than take this woorde of me, that
 in the multitude of men there are fewe to be praysed, and
 many to be repented.

Chowe a son in lawe oughte to be wel examined et he be
 accepted to his purpose.ca.xii.

Owe to come to our particular purpose, ye as-
 monge you do prayse this yonge man, and yf
 his werkis be as your wordes, ye shoulde not
 only say, that he hath merited to be my sonne
 in lawe, but rather merited to be onelye inher-
 itour of the hole empire. And therfore I wolle wyttre of
 you, wherof you can praise this your kynsemann, that ther
 be no contrarytie betwene his werkis and your wordes.
 If he be rusticall, it abateth hym soze: if he be of hyghe
 blode, he wyl be presumptuous: if he be tyche, he wylle
 gyue hym to viciousnes: if he be poze, he wyl be couetous:
 if he be valiant, he wyl be ouerbolde: yf he be a coward
 he is defamed: if he be a greate speaker, he shall be a lyter:
 if he be to lyttelle a speaker, he shall be noted as vnwyse:
 yf he be faire, he wylle be coueted: if he be soule, he wylle
 be celous. Than if he be quite of all these, I swere to you
 that I wyl gyue hym my doughter Matrine with all my
 hart. I do not say this vnto you, because I suppose any yl
 in your kyngeman: but to thentent that ye shulde thynke,
 that I say it accordyng to my naturalite. And than sythe
 I say it not agaynst your credence, for the knowlege that
 ye haue of hym, mistake not my suspcion, sith that I am

G.ii. hole

hole ignorant of this yonge mans lyuyng. And I wyl
 not, that ye shulde thynke, that the chylde my doughter,
 that hath ben brought vp in so great vertu in my palays,
 shulde be maried to this yong man for the only fame that
 he hath amouge the people. Howe often haue I sene in
 our tyme nowe, and haue redde of the worlde passed, the
 whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at an
 other tyme by theyz p[ro]p[ri]et[ies] v[er]y workes haue deserued hit, at an o-
 ther tyme by theyz sorowfull destinies haue permitted it,
 wenynge for to brynge sonnes in lawe in to theyz house,
 haue brought in a hell: In stede of wise and faire dough-
 fers, haue recovered adders: In sekyng sonnes, haue
 founde basilike serpentes: In brynging of blouddde, poy-
 son deluyered: In sekyng frendes, they haue founde en-
 nemyes: In demandyng honour, shame hath be gyuen:
 and finally in marienghe theyz chyldyn, wenynge to haue
 lyued mervly, the sorowfull fathers haue had euyll lyfe
 and a wo[rd]s dethe. And in case that suche ought to be mo-
 ued more of them that be toyous, than they that ben lowe
 of them that bene toyous: as well oughte we to approue
 the iuste chastisement of the iuste goddes, by the vniuste
 workes done to iuste men. Soz he deserueth great chastise-
 ment, that with ferefull hardynes as a foole determineth
 hym selfe in hygh and difficult thinges with sodayn coun-
 sell. And therfore my frendes, if ye be vertuous, be not a-
 bashed of that that I saye, no; take the examination that
 I make in a slander: If I take this yonge man to be
 my sonne, to be sonne in lawe to Faustyne my wyfe, hus-
 bande to my doughter Matryne, broder to Comodus the
 prince, felowe to them of the senate, knyght to my kings-
 folke, and lord of my seruantes: It is reason, that suche
 a robe oughte well to be regarded, syth that so many per-
 sons muste ware the lyuccay therof. The garmente that

so many persons must weare, muste be wysely cut to content them all. We se naturally many thynges noyfule to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not damageable to vs ferre of. The sonne with his shynynge beames dothe patche the fleshe of the people of Ethiopia, bycause hit is nere vnto them: and contrary wyse it dooth noo grefe to theyr persons that inhabyte in the ende of Europe: for bycause hit toucheth them a ferre of. There haue bene dyuers sonnes of Rome, whiche beyng in straunge countrey's, haue done greate profitte to the common welthe, and no lesse famed throughout the worlde, whiche after they were returnd to theyr owne houses, haue sypple moze bloudde of innocentes, than they had done before of the Barbariens. And that it is sothe demaunde of Julius Cesar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Casius, of Catilina, and of Lypulus, of Octavius, and Marcus Anthonius, of Caligula and of Nero, of Othus and Domitianus. And as I saye of soo small a nombre of bastarde chyldren that helde Rome, I maye saye of dyuers other tyrauntes broughte vppe in Itallye. Beleue me in one thyng, All that is agreeable to vs abrode, agreeethe not to vs yf we hynginge them in to the howse. For there goth many thinges betwene the entreatyng of a man in wordes, and to belonge conuersant with hym in workes. Lyttell nedeth humayne ignorance for to begyle an other, and yet lesse to be begyled of many an other. With a meke visage, swete wordes in the tongue, good delyberation in the persone, temperaunce in the worde, euery one may begyle an other nowe adayes: and by shreudenes and malyce, is begiled hym selfe. I say to you, I beinge a yonge man knewe the famous ozatour Taurin propose dyuers tymes in the senate: And on a day he spake for a Romayn matron, whiche shalde haue marayed an honest daughter of hers to a may-

ster of horses, by semyng a Romayne, and not very well appoynted: And amonge other wordes he sayde: O noble fathers, O happy people, comande not that thyng that afterwarde ye wolde were not commaunded: An yll mariage is lyke as he that shoreth a pellet of duste, it hurteth hym that it toucheth, and blyndethe them that standen nexte. Sothelpe these were hie wordes, and the compatisson well vnderstonden, conteyneth in it sentences of gracie. It is manyfesto to all men, that an ylle sonne in lawe is the deathe of the wyfe that hath hym, shame to the frenches that procured it, and at the laste an yll ende for hym selfe, and for his father that offered it. Thanne by all these thynges that I haue sayde, ye may vnderstonde what I thinke in this mariage. His sayinges thus ended, the Senate was greatly edified therewith, and the knyghtes kynsfolke to this yonge man, grately abashed: and Faustina the empresse soze confused, for by her introduction, the matter was moued, & howe this mariage sayled, the historiens write not, whom we haue folowed in this werke.

How Marke thempetour fauored al noble exercyses, and hated trewandes and fooles.ca.xiii.



The vertues of this good emperour, and the knowlege of sciences, the worthines in armes, and the purenes of his lyuyng, caused hym to be named among the famous me of Rome. The gentylle conuersation that he had with euery man made hym to be renowmed amonge the woxbyeste of al the wold, the thinge mooste agreeable without reprehension of the greatest, meane, and leaste is, that a lord and pynce of many, to be communicable and conuersant wiþ many. All the good werkis of good men may be condens-

ned with the yll intentions of them that be ylle: But the good condicions haue such a priuilege, that of yl the good is prapled, and the good approueth the yll. In a mans lyuyng there is none so great a byce, but by good conuersation it is couerted and hid: And contrary wise no cryme is secrete, but with yll conuersation, at the tyme that it hurteh it is moze openly knownen. Of two extremities hit is not so greuous to the common welthe, a man to be weake and faynt in secretenes, & of gentyll conuersation abrode, as it is of hym that is secrete, and is rude and of yll conuersation opely. Dyuers not being of good order & policie, we haue sene couersant a gret whyle in ROME, only soz beinge wel condicioned. And many mo we haue sene, that in a shorte whyle after they were put in office, haue ben so prouide and hasty in theyz condicions, that they haue bene depriued from theyz offices. And this we say bycause this good emperour was so ioyous of visage, soo amiable in his customes, soo louyng in his conuersation, that lyghtly he wolde caste his armes aboue the necke and on the shulders of them, and take them by the handes, that had any thinge to doo with him. The porters shulde not lette them that wolde accompany hym in the palays: noz his garde was not so hardy to put a backe such as wold speke with hym in the feldes. In all his aeges he applyed to that that every age gaue hym by nature: He was a childe amonge children: yonge amonge yonge folkes: woldely with them that were woldly: good felowe with good felowes: A baron among barons: Hardy with hardy men; and finallie olde with olde menne. He was wonte to saye, vpon any in his presence that were yonge and not welle caught in their language, gested at the debilitie of auge, or olde me at the foly of youth: I eauie them sith they leue you. Many tymes of wile yonge men cometh olde soles: And

And of yonge fooles customably cometh wise olde men.
 Naturalite at the laske maketh all thynges in kynde. As of
 greata debilitie we canne drawe but smalle strengthe, by
 our naturalitie we may for a tyme resistre it, but not vter-
 ly maister it. I am soore abashed that some that wyll be so
 lordely and valiant in vertues, and so hysgh mynded, that
 they wyll make vs beleue, that they lyuynge in the fleshe,
 & beinge of fleshe, onely sele not the fleshe. I can not telle,
 yf nature hath made oþer of an other nature than I am
 of, or me of an other nature thanne oþer be, for I beinge
 neuer so faste inclosed in the swete conuersation of philo-
 sophy, yea in the beste tyme, this false fleshe wolde calle
 atte the gate with his nouȝtyme fleshe. The more that
 we teyle and exalte vs with science and gette liberties,
 the more lower we doo putte the fleshe with her myn-
 ties. Beleue me one thyng, that if a tree beareth not in
 symetyme his flowers, we hope not to haue the fruit
 in harueste ripe: and a yonge man that hathe not passed
 his youthe with yonge people, we haue noo hope that he
 shalbe passe is age with olde men. And as we may resyl-
 our naturalitie and not cleane to forðoo it, those fathers
 erre, that are so extremely affectioned, to haue theyr chil-
 dren to begynne as olde men, wherupon it foloweth, thaþ
 they ende as yonge. This emperour was soo wylle in al
 thynges, that amone them that were mervye, he was of
 great myȝthe: And in verities he was very veritable: In
 his pastimes he was greata temperate, and a louer of
 musike, specially in good boyce and instrumentes, and
 soore displeased is he harde any discorde therin. He pas-
 sed most of his youthe in lernynge of sciences. Whan he
 came to mannes state, he exercised feates of knyghthode:
 he loued disciplyne and not of adulacion. He was apt and
 happy in armes, but yet in rydinge of horses he hadde

ofte tymes vll happe. In his yonge age he delyted to play at the tenys, and at the cheſſe in his aye. He loued not these counterfaſtyng players of farces and mummuries, and yet leſſe trewandes that ben naturall fooles, tuglers and gesters for pleasure. The players and gesters ſuffered great varietie in the empire, accordyng to the diuersitie of emperours. Julius Cesar ſusleyned theym, Octauian his newewe droue them awaie, Caligula called theym a-gayne, Cruell Nero banyſhed them, Nerua made theym come agayne, Good Traian banyſhed them oute of al Italy, Anthony pius brought them in a geyne: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurelius, they ended. And the occation was, the Romayns dyd celebrazate with great ioye the. iiiii. daye of Maye the great feaste of the mother Berecynte, mother of all the goddis. The ſacred priſtes clamines diales, wolde haue brought thither theſe minſtrells tuglers and gesters for to rejoyce þe feaſt, and contrary wiſe the holy nunnis veſtales, wolde haue done the ſame, ſo that variaunce felle betwene them, ſome with force, and ſome with riſiſtance, and ſome ranne thyder in fauouringe of both parties, and not a fewer to de-parte them. The cruell and greate noyſe of slaughter amounge them was ſuche, that it tourned the feaſt to weypinges, the pleaſures into ſorowes, and they ſonges into wayllynges. This good emperour laboured to peafe this furie of the people, and to ſette peace among the neybouris of Rome. Whan all was done he made curiouſ diligēnce to ſerche out all the players, tuglers, and iestours of Rome, and in all the circuite of Italy, that they miſt be chaſtiled, and Rome delyterred of them. And for example of all the worlde he ſente theym to the gate of Hostie, and commaunded to ſet theym in Galies, and to banyſhe them for euer into the ples of Hillespont: whiche was ac-

complished as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daye was never sene at Rome tagler nor lester, as longe as themperour lyued. But it passed not two yeres after his deathe, but they returned, whan his sonne hadde the rule. And excepte the bokes doo lye, there was in Rome greater nombre of fooles than of wise men.

COf the good conuersation of this emperour
Marcus Aurelius. Cap. xv.

We haue sayd of the hatred that this emperour had to trewandes, reuelers, getters, tuglers, gesters, and such other: Nowe wyl we speke of his laudable exercises of theym that came to hym. To be welle conditioned, the malyce of mankynde is so great, that as good men are bounde to regard the yll, so do they that be yl regarde to distroye the good. The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis with them þ be good, as the vice & dishonestie of euyl folkes is in euyl thinges. What greater corruption in this world may be, than a vertuous persone for one wokе of vertue can not fynde one to helpe hym to wokе it, and whan he alone hath wrought it, there commethe tenne thowzandis to gynesaye hym: The greateste goodnesse of all goodnesse is whan tyrannies ar put vnder by vertues acquyted: or to fynde remedy agaynst accustomed vices with good inclynations. And the greateste euyll of all euyllis is whan a persone forgetteþ that he is a man, puttynge reason vnder sole, straining his hand agaynst vertu, and letteþ vice rule the bridle. This emperour M. Aurel. steyned in his lyse great glorie in the eschewyng the vilany of vyllaynes: no lesse merited he immortal memory in sufferyng dyuers dishonestyeg in the execusion of his ver-

vertues. An vnfallible teule hit is amounghe the chyldyn
 vbanitis, to chylde the vices of theym that be bycous.
 And the vertues welle incorporate nouysse many en-
 wous. They that be ylle, benne alwayes double ylle, be-
 cause they beare armour defensyue to defende theyz owne
 puelles: and armes offensyue to assapple the good ma-
 ners of other. The trowthe is, if good menne be dyly-
 gente to seeke oþer that be good, no lesse oughte they soz
 to hyde theym from theym that be ylle: for a good manne
 with one synger hathe power ouer all theym that be ver-
 tuous, but soz to withstande one ylle personne, he hathe
 nede of handes feete and frendes. And though fortune
 be ylled to good menne, theyz owne propre fame shall be
 spente as of straungiers. This good emperoure was
 stronge in vertue, meeke in wordes, attemperate in his
 exercyses, homely with every man, sadde amounghe sadde
 men, hasty amounghe hasty men, mercy with mercy men, and
 iuste amounghe iuste men, as it is conuenable soz a curios
 pince to be. And whan these are approued in the lawe of
 good men by clere understandyng, as well shall they be
 condempned by theym that haue ylle intencions. Channe
 as the cooles canne not be in the embres without sparkis,
 no corruption of the carion withoute stenehe: no more can
 he that hath a hole and clere herte be, without inforsyng
 hym to bter louyng wordes: And he that hath an ylle
 harte, alwayes ouercommeth other with wordes of ma-
 lye. Soz it is certayne, soz a small seasone the louer maye
 absteyne his loue, and yette lesse tym. the payne of hym,
 that is payned with loue hydde. The sozowfullie syghes
 shewe the herte of the herte, and the malitious wordes di-
 scouer the yll of the harte. we haue sayde all this bycause
 that the bountie of this good Emperoure Marcus Au-
 gelius set all his ioy and gladnes in them that were good,
 H. II, and

and bewayled theym that were pyle. And as in semblable thynges the worthy men shewe their worthynes, and wise men their wisedome, beyng vertudos in workinge and wile in knowlegyng, were very wise in dissimulyng. One of the vertues that a wise man ought to haue (wherin he shall be knownen as wylde) is that he can suffre wel. For a man that can suffre wel, was never but wise & wel manerd, and therewith to suffre the vertue of yll busines is a thyng reasonable of all reasonables bestes, and of them that be good very good. And by contrarye wise the man that can not well suffre, though it be in very luste thinges, hopeth not to be well treated. And lykewylle as this emperour Marcus in all vertues harhe ben egall with all the emperours of Rome that haue benne, In this vertue of suffraunce he hath surmounted all them of the world. He was wont to say many tymes: I haue not attayned to the emprise by the sciences that I haue lernid of the phylosophers, but by the pacience that I haue had with them that were frowarde and not lerned. And this semeth to be true: for oftentymes this emperour beyng with the Senate at Collusee, or the Senate with hym in the hysche Capitoll, he seyng in his presence dyuers that praysed hym, and other that in his absence amonge the people blamed hym and rebuked hym, his attemperaunce yet was so greatte, and shewed hym selfe so iust with one and other, that neither his frenedes that agreed with him that were sorowful, nor his ennemis for any disfauour went away complaynyng and angrye,

C Of the feaste that the Romaynes kepte to the god Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayde emperour there, Cap. xvi.

Amonge



Monge the solempne feastes, that the auncient Romaynes hadde inuented, was one of the god Janus, kepte the sytle daye of the pere, whiche as nowe is the sytledaye of Januyer: He was paynted with two faces, to shewe that it was the last daye of the pere passed, and the begynnyng of the newe pere. To this god was dedycate a sumptuous temple in Rome, whiche Temple Numa Pompilius called the temple of peace. And except the temple of Jupiter, it was holden in mooste reverencie of all other. Whan the Romayne emperours wente or came to Rome to visite the high capitoll, and the bestall virgins, forthwith they wente to pray, worshyp, and to offre at the temple of Janus. The daye of celebration of the sayd feast all Rome reioyced, and put on them the besse clothes that they had, brennyng greate lyghtes in every hous, and made many playes of interludes, of gesles and suglyng, & watched al nyght in the temples, & deliuered al the prisoneours that were in prison for debt, & paide the debtes with the common treasour. They had tables with mete before their doozes in suche haboundance, that moxe was left thaaten, wherwith all the pooore folkes in Rome were relieved. The Romayns thought, that what so euer they spete that daye, that the god Jano (whiche was god of tymes) wolde rewarde them double. The Romaynes saide, that this god Janus was not vnykynde and a nygarde, for if they spent a lyttell, he wolde recompence theym with a great deale. At this feaste was made great processions, every sorte of people by them selfe, the senate went a part, the priestes aparte, The Censores a parte, the plebeyens a parte, The matrones and yonge maidens by them self, and the ambassadours went in procession with al the captiues and prisoners. Thus they went euer two and two:

the

the ende of one company was the beginnyng of an other. And thus out of the temple of Janus, they wente about all the temples of Rome, and so out of Porte latine into the feldes, and rounde aboute the walles of Rome. And bycause the circuite of Rome was greate, the processions went but from one gate to an other, so that toward night al the processions of Rome had gone everychone in their company aboue: And that done they retourned all into the temple that they came out of, and there offred echeone as they myght. And in the sayd processions it was of custome, that the emperours went accompanied with the senatours: but this good emperour was so famylier, that he wolde honour and accompany every man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the sayde day the emperour shulde weare on his robe, and mantelle imperiall: And all prisoners and captiues that myght touch hym with their hand were delyuerd, & al trespassours were pardoned, and banished folke were forgiuen, and called agayn. And this emperour to vse his clemency, and to leaue after hym perpetuall memory, lefte the procession of senatours, and without any gard went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche doinge was occasion to leaue behynd hym perpetuall memory of him selfe, and great example of clemencie and lowlynnes to princes for to come. Now be it there is nothyng so well done of them that be good, but forthwith it shalbe contrariet of them that be yll: And therfore this example was soo moche dispayled of theym that were yll, as praysed and allowed of theym that wen good. And in lykewise as among them that be good then is one noted to be pure good, so amonge them that be yll, there is one noted to be right ylle. And that worse is, that the vertuous person estemeth not the glorie of his vertue so gret, as the malitious person by his malycye is shaming.

This

This is sayde bycause there was a senatour in the senate named fulius, whiche was as blacke by his malyce, as white by his heares. He laboured soze in the dayes of Adrian to haue bene emperour, and had Marcus alwayes as competitour. And as it is a natural thing to them that haue yll hartes to shewe theyz malice in small thinges, so this emperour dyd neuer good thinge openlye, but this fulius wolde groudge therat secretly. And though this emperour was greatly praysed for the delueryng of prysoneers, yet the sayd senatour coude not haue the prudencie to suffre it, and soo parte in mockery, and parte in earnest he sayde these wordes to the emperour in the senate : why gyuest thou thy selfe to all men ?

Chowe Marcus the emperour aunswered a senatour in the senate. Cap. xvi.

The emperour Marcus Aур. heringe what the senatoř had sayde to hym in the presence of the senatours, that is to wit, Wherfore he gaue hym to all men, he answered : Frende I giue me to all men, bycause all men gyue them to me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a prince causeth hatred of the people : The goddis wyll not, nor the lawes permit not, nor the agremente of the cōmon welthe wyl not suffre, þ princiſ be lozdes ouer many, & to accompany but with a fewe. I haue redde in bookeſ, & haue proued it by my ſelue, that the loue of ſubiectes, the ſuretie of the prince, the dignitie of the empire, and the honour of the Senate, do conſerue the prince, not with rigour, but with gentyll conuerſation. The fyſher goth not to take dypers fyſhes of the riuere with one baite, nor þ mariner with one nette entret he in to the ſee. I promyſe you the depenes of good

good wylles oughte to be wonne with the devenes of the
harte, some with gyftes, some with wodes, some with p^ro-
myles, and some with fauours. The insaciate courteous
men are neuer contente, no^t wyl open their affection, but
locke vp they^r treasours. And such as serueth for loue, at
lesse content with opening of they^r treasure, than locking
vp their wylles. It is an olde proverbe of Pythagoras:
Loue is payd with other loue. O how pl^r fortune it is to a
prince, & how vnhappy it is to a comon welch, wh^t the pe-
ple serue not their lordes but for rewardes, & the lordes to
kepe & mainteyne them, but for their seruice. With diuers
stones & one ciment buyldynge is reysed, and of diuers mi-
and one lord^e is composed a common welthe. And if geo-
metrie begyle me not, the mo^rter that toyngeth one stone
with an other, oughte to be medled with sand and clecked
lyme by reson. Separate the stones, and the wal openeth,
and let the ciment sayle, and the edifice falleth. He that is
wise, may well vnderstande me. Loue betwene neybours
sufferith to be mytigate with water: but hit is requisite
that the loue of the prince and his people be pure. Dy-
uers troubles, and atte dyuers tymes I haue seene a-
monge the common people of Rome in one daye moued &
appeased: but one discorde reysed betwene the lord^e and
the common welthe, vnto the dethe is neuer accorded. It
is a difficile thyng to make appoyntment of many with
many, and more difficile to accorde one with an nother.
But without comparison more harder it is to appoynt di-
uers with one, than one with dyuers. And in this case I
wyl not saue the prince nor leue the people uncondeyned.
Fro whens (as ye think)cometh it now a days, that lordis
with annoyance commaunde vnusyte thinges, and in iust
thynges the subiectes are vnobedient? Nowe here me &
I shall tell you. The prunce doinge a thinge in dede, and

not of righte, will confounde the will of every manne, and
 believe his owne vnderstandinge, and drawe of hym selfe
 and all other his onely wyl. Contrary wise, the multitude
 of the people dispraysnge theyr lordes vnderstandinge,
 do as they wyl: not as all wyl, but as every manne desi-
 reth hym selfe. Of trouth it is a greuous thing, although
 it be greatly accustomed, to wyll that all gounes shulde
 be mete for one man, and that one mans harnes shulde be
 mete to arme all men. Than what shall we do, that our fa-
 thers haue lefte thus in the wo:le, & also we hold that we
 be theyr chyldeen, and that worse is, we leauie the same to
 our heires? O howe many pryncis of my predecessors,
 I haue redde of, that haue bene losse in shewynge theym
 selfe ouer straunge, and beloued of none: I wyll tell you
 of some of theym for examples, that I haue redde in my
 booke, to thintent that pryncis may see what they wynne
 by amiable conuersation, and what they lose by ouermoch
 straungenes. In the realme of Assiens greater in armes
 than the Caldeens, and lesse in aduantage and antiquitie
 than the Assiens: One maner forme of kynges endured
 amonge them. C. and. xx. yeres, by reason they were of
 holowable conuersation. And an nother fourme and maner
 (as Homer sayth) lasted but. xl. yeres, because theyr kinges
 were of an yll condicion. And the. ix. Epiphanes of the
 Egypciens was vnnombed and put down, bycause there
 was a lawe that echone shulde be bare legged in the tem-
 ples vpon the holy dayes. And this kyng on a day riding
 came before the god Apis, god of the Egypciens, the whiche
 thyng was not suffered, for besyde that he was put out
 of his realme, he was chastised. Also the. vi. Artacidauell
 the iuincible kyng of Parthes, not onely was depryued,
 but also banyshed out of his realme, bycause he dyned at
 a knyghtes brydale, and wolde not eate at the brydale of a
 comuner.

somoner yet also thoughte the realme of Italy was staine
 they hatnes were greacie: for bcause one of theþ: Mart
 ranes, for so were their kynges called, had shette his ga
 tes by nyght for to slepe the surlyer, he was depryued of
 his realme: bcause a lawe was made, that noo prince
 shulde shette his gates nyght noz day: for they sayde, they
 hadde made hym kyng for to dryue awaþ their ennemis,
 and not to be daintily nourished. Tarquine the last kyng
 of the Romaynes was vnkynde to his fader in lawe, dis
 famed his blod and kynrede, was a traytour to his coun
 try, cruell of his persone, and aduouteret with Lucrece:
 but for all that he was not called vngentyll, nor infamed,
 nor trayter, nor cruell, nor aduouter, but he was named
 Tarquine the prounde, bcause he was of yle condicions
 and complexions. And yet by the lawe of good menne, I
 swere to you, that if the sayd vnhappy Tarquine had had
 good wyll in Rome, for the aduouterie of Lucrece he had
 not be put out of his realme, for as moche as other greater
 and more greuous hatnes hadde benne doone before
 his tyme, and also moche wors sithen by aged emperours
 in the empyre, the whiche crymes by them commyted,
 were suche, that the offence of this scayle yonge man, was
 but smalle in estimation. For thynge certayne these prin
 ces holde, that if they gyue dyuers occasions for theyyll
 wyll, yet a lyttel thinge suffiseth if he shewe, that the hate
 that he hath is for none yill wyll; but the hate that the clu
 se hath to the lord, is bcause he hath no power.

CJulius Cesar, the laste dictatour and firsste emperour,
 bcause he forgate to be a man among men, but thinking
 to be a god amoung goddis, bvinge a laudable custome,
 that the senate shulde salute the emperour on ther knees,
 and the emperour to ryse curtesellie ageynst them: b
 cause of a presumptuous mind, he wold not kepe the cere
 monie

humors; he remitted to keepe his lyfe with xxxiiii strokes of penknives, and as I saue of these so fewe a nomber, I maye saye of many other. The phisitiens with a lyttell Kubarde purge many humours of the body, and the emperoz with a littel benevolence taketh many greues fro the stomakes of his subiectes. The people owe obedience to the prynce, and to do his persone great reuerence, and fulfyll his comandementes, and the prynce oweþ egall justice to euerie man, and meke conuersation to all men.

Marcus Portius saide dyuers tymes in Rome: That the publycke welthe is there perpetual and withoute any sodayne falle, wherethe the prynce syndeth the obedience, and all the people syndeth loue with the prynce, for of the loue of the lordre bredeth the good obedience of the subiecte, and of the obedience of the subiecte bredeth the good loue of the lordre. The emperour in Rome is lyke to a spider that is in the myddes of her webbe. For if the sayde coppe webbe be touched with the popule of a nedel, forthwith the spider seyleth hit. I meane that all the werkis of the emperour in Rome benne streyghte wavy knownen in all the erthe. I beleue that this daye I haue bene iudged oþhumayn malyce, for accompanpenge the processyon of the captiues, and that I suffredde them to towche me, that they myghte enjoy the priuilege of lybertie. I selde and gyue greate graces to my goddis of my good happy, bycause they haue made me pitifull for to delþuer prisoners, and not cruell as a tyraunte for to make them bondy that be free. The proverbe sayth: One snare maye take two byþdes: So it hath ben this daye: for the benefite rebounded onely to the mysterable prisoners, but the fauour to all their nations. And doo ye not knowe, that by takynge awaþ theyþ yrons, I haue drawnen to me the hartes of all theyþ realmes and countreyss. Fynally

I.i.

it

It is more sure to a priuie to be serued with fre hertes,
and loue of them that be at his erie, than of subiectes con-
streyned with feare.

Chowe the imperour Marcus deuyded the houres of the
day for the busynesses of thempire. cap. xviii.



Ere before we haue shewid how this good em-
perour had greate hattred of men that were ol-
yll lyuyng, and that passed their tyme in ylle
exercise. It suffiseth not the philosopher to re-
proue the vice of other by wordes, but it is ne-
cessarie that he do þ werkis that he requireth other to do.
It is reason nowe to shewe, howe this emperour by his
greate prudencie compassed & dispatched the great & huge
busynesses of the empire, the particularites of his house-
holde, the recreation of his persone, therercise of his stu-
dies, the infinite reasonyng with one and other, with su-
che peyne takyng, and in so shorte tyme. He was so apte
and wel aduysed, that by hym there was no tyme yl spent.
Noz never fayled to dispatche the besynes of the empire.
And bycause the tyme is gloryous of hym that glorioustly
spendeth it, and the tyme is accursed that to our damage
and without profite to other passeth, leauing vs ignorant
as brute beastes. He departed the tyme by times, the ordre
wherof was thus. Seuen houres he slepte in the nyghte,
and rested one houre in the day: At dynner and supper he
wasted but onely two houres: he deputed two houres fo;
the mattres of Alie: Other two houres fo; the busynesse
of Europe and Asserike: and in conuersation of his house-
e with his wife and chyldren seruauntes and freres that
came to see hym, he spente other two houres: And fo; the
outwarde bespuesse, as to here the complayntes of theym
that

that were grieved! The suites of poore men wanting Justis, the widowes, the cobberies of pychers, of mychers, and bacaboundes, he deputed an other houre. All the rest of the day and night in redyng of booke, to write workes, to make metres, to studye antiquities, to practyse with wise men, to dispute amonoge philosophers, he passed thus hydriately in wynter: And in sommer if cruell warres let-
ten hym not, or that he were troubled with greate & hal-
lous matters, he went euer to bed at. ix. of the clocke, and
awoke at. iiiii. It was of custome that emperours hadde
euer lyghtes brennyng in theyr chaumbre. And therfore
whan he awoke, bycause he wolde not be ydle, he had euer
a boke at his beddes heed. And thus in redyng he spente
the rest of the nyght, tyl it was day. He rose at. vi. of the
clocke, and made hym redy openly, not angrey, but me-
tely: he wolde demaunde of them that were present, howe
they had spent all the nyght tyme. And there he wolde re-
herse what he hadde redde that nyghte. Whan he was re-
dy, he wolde wase his handes with very wel smellynge
waters: so he was a great louver of all swete odours. He
had a good and a quicke smellynge. Than in the morning
before every man, he wolde take. iiij. oij. iiiij. mozelles of e-
lectuarie of sticados, and two draughtes of Aqua vite.
After that in sommer he wolde go forth with a fote to the
riner side, & there passe the time the space of two houres.
And as soone as the heate came, he wolde go to the hygh
capitoll to the senate. That done he wente to the collidge,
where as all the procurours and ambassadours of al pvo-
vinces were: and ther he wolde be a greatt parte of the
day, and here euery nation by hit selfe, accordyng to
the tyme that was deputed by order. And towarde the e-
venynge, he wolde go to the temple of the virgins vesta-
les. He eate but ones a daye, and that was somewhat late,
and

and manne he wylde make a good rymale, and but of few
 meates. He had a custome every weke in Rome, in oþer
 tites, where as he was, that two dayes late in the even
 ynge he wylde walbe in the strees without his gardie or
 knyghtes, onely with xvj. þillages, to se if any persone
 wylde speake with hym, or complayne of any officer of his
 counte and howse, and thus he cauised to be demaunded of
 drier men. This good emperour wylde often tymes saye
 A good kyng that wyl cult and gouerne wel, and not to
 be a tyrant, oughte to do thus: That is, that he be not
 courteous of tributes, nor prouide in his commaundementes,
 nor unkynde to seruices, nor holde in the temples, nor
 deere to here complayntes. In fulfyllyng hereof he shal
 haue the goddes in his handes, and the hantes of menyn
 shalbe his. All the whyle that this Marke was emperour
 he had never portet at his chambre doore, but if it wen
 the two houres that he was with Faustine his wyfe. This
 good emperour had in his howse a secrete closette locked
 with a key that he bare hym selfe. And never trusted none
 other therwith to the houre of his death. And then he com
 manded to deliuer it to Pompeano, a prudente ancient
 baron that was marred to his daughter. In the which clo
 set he had divers boþes written in all langages, as Greke,
 hebrewe, latyne, and Caldee, and oþer authe histories.

The answere of M. the emperour to han Faustine his wi

fe demaunded the key of his study.ca. xiiij. in folio



Si it is natural to wome to dispysse that thing
 that is gauen them vnasked, so it is deathe
 to them to be desyred of that they do demand.
 This emperour had the studie or closet of his
 howse in the midde secrete place of his palay, wherin he
 neþer

neither stynched his wafe, seruant, nor friend to entre. On a
day it chanced, that faustyn in themwylle desired importu-
nely to se that studie, saying these wordes: My lord, let
me se your secrete chamber, he holde. I am grete with
childe, and shall dye if I see hit not. And pe knoue well,
that the lawe of the Romaines is, that nothinge shall be
denied to womeyne with childe, of that they desire. And
we do otherwise, ye doo it in dede, but not of ryght.
ms
For I shall ope with the childen in my body. And more o-
ure I thynke in my minde, that ye haue lame other louer
within your studie. Therfor to put away the peril of my
traualinge, and to assure my harte from Jelousie, hit is
no great thidg to lette me entre in to your studie. The
empereour sayng that faustynes wodes were of trouthe,
because he saw her wordes washed with weeping, and we-
red her on this wise: It is a thinge certayne, whan one is
conuerten, he sayth mores with his tongue, channe he thin-
keth with his hart. And contrary wyle whan one is hevy,
therien wepe not so moch, nor the tongue can not declare
that is lokked in the harte. Wayne men with bathe wod-
des shewe and declare therin harts pleures. And the wile
men with prudente wodes, dissemble they; cruelle palli-
ngs. Among wile men he is wifest, that knoweth moche,
and knoweth to knowe but lytell; And amonge the symple,
he is moost simble, that knoweth but littell, and loeweth
him selfe to knowe moche. They that appyduene, though
they late devalued, say nothyng; but symple folke will
speake enough without askinge of any question. This
I say of faustyn, because thy weeping hathe soo butt me,
and the baine wiche so turmented me, that I can not be-
nor dñe that I fel, moch thou canst nat beleve that I have
being almytaynes hevyn they waten, that haue wosten
my mariage; yet haue they not wiste how many traualges
that

that one womanne causeth her husbande to suffre in one
 daye. Of a sureris, it is a toyfull thyng to reioice in the
 chyldhode of chyldren, but it is a ryght cruel thing to suf-
 fre the importunitie of theyr mothers. The chyldren do
 nowe and then a thyng that tourmeth vs to pleasure, but
 ye women do nothyng but gyue vs displeasure. I shal
 agree with all maried men to pardon theyr chyldrens ple-
 sures; so; the annoyance that the mothers gyue to them.
 One thyng I haue sene, the whiche never begyled me,
 that the iuste goddes do gyue to the vniuste memme, that
 all the euylls that they doo in this woorlde, shall be re-
 mytted to the furies of the other woorlde: But if they doo
 commytle any synne for the pleasure of any woman, the
 goddes commaunde, that by the handes of the same wo-
 manne, we shall recepue peyne in this woorlde, and not in
 the other. There is not soo fyers or perillous an enemey
 to a manne, as is his wyfe. And though a manne can no-
 lyue with her as a man, I never sawe none soo lyght, be-
 ynghe with a vicious woman, in doyng spye, but that by
 the same woman at the last he recepued shame and chal-
 lement. Of one thyng I am sure, and I say it not be-
 cause I haue seene it, but experimeted in my selfe, tha-
 though the husbande do all that his wyfe wille, yet wy-
 she do nothyng that her husbande wolle haue done. Great
 crueltie is among the barbarians to holde theyr wyues as
 sclaves: And no lessse madnes is it of Romaynes, to ke-
 them as ladyes. Fleshe ought not to be souleane, that be-
 atthowre: no; so fatte that it clope the stomacke: but men
 and entierladed to the ende that hit be sauourye. I say
 that a wyse manne canne not gyue so stronge a byddell to
 his wyfe, that she wille obeye as an hande mayden: me
 gyue her so lytell of the bydwell, but she wille exalte her
 selfe as maytreesse and reuler. Beholde Faustine how

ye wommen are soo exstane in all heedlonge extremities,
 that with a lytell fauour pe wyll exalte, augmente, and
 grove in to great pride: and with a lytell disfauour, ye
 recouer greate hatred. There is no partie loue, where is
 no equalite betwene the louers. And as ye and other are
 vnperteine, soo is your loue vnperteine. I wote well ye un-
 derstante me not. Therfore vnderstante Faystine that
 I say moare than ye wene. There is no woman, that with
 her wyll wolde suffre any greater than her selfe: nor to
 be contente to haue an other egall with her. For though he
 she haue a. M. li. rent, yet she hathe x. M. folyes in her
 heed. And that worse is, though it chaunce her husbande
 to dyre, and she leste all her rent, yet endeth no her folyshe-
 nes. Herken to me, and I shall tell you moare. All women
 wolde speake, and haue all other to be stylle: they wolde
 gouerne, and be gouerned of none other. One thynge they
 despise, that is to see, and to besene. And such as be lyght
 in folowynge they; lyghtnes, they holde as their subiec-
 tes and sclauies: and such as be wyse, and reþoue they;
 appetites, they pursue as enimies. In the annales Pompei-
 ens, I haue founde a thyng worthy for to be knownen,
 and that is: Whan Gnee Pompei passed into the Otrere
 on the mountaynes Rifees he founde a maner of people
 called Masagetes, whiche had a lawe, that euery inhabi-
 taunt or dweller shuld haue two tonnes or flettes, bycause
 there was lacke of howses in the sayde mountaynes: In
 one was the husbande, the sonnes and menne seruauntes:
 and in the other the wyfe the doughters and maydens.
 On the holy dayes they dydde eate to gyther, and ones in
 the weke they laye together. Whan great Pompey had
 questioned the cause of their lyuyng in that maner, for
 that he never sawe no; knewe a more extreme thynge in
 all the world. One of them answered. Pompey behold,

the goddis hauyngh vs but a shertyf; for none of vs
may lye above. In pere at the mosse, and those peres: in
trauaille to lyue in peace. And in hauyng our wyues with
vs still in compaunce, we shuld lyeuer evydynge: for we
shulde pass the nyghtes in berynge ther complayntes:
and the dayes in sufferynge ther bawlynges & chydynge.
In keppinge them this wise from vs apart, they nourish
they chyldyn more peasibly, eschewynge the noyses that
screch the fathrys.

C I tel the Faustyn, that though we cal the Masagetes
barbariens, in this case they be wiser than the Romayns.
One thinge I wyll tell you Faustyn, & I pray you marke
it wel. If the beasty mounyng of the fleshe enforced not
the wyll of man to do his luste, and that he wolde not de-
sire women, I doubt whether women wolde suffice it of
loue it the leste. Obstronch is the goddis hadde made this
loue voluntarie, as it is natural, that is as we wolde we
wyght, and not as we wold and may not, with great pena-
sia man myghte be satisfied, though he shuld lose hym self
for any woman. It is a great secrete of the goddis, and a
great imulerie to man, that the faynt and weake fleshe doth
force the herte whiche shulde be free, to loue that it abhor-
reteth, and to alowe that that doth ageth. This is a greate
Tectate, that men canno sele it every houre as men: and yet
by discretion may not remedyt it. I enute not the lyuyng
goddis, nor the menne that be deed, but for two thynges,
and ther ben thele: **C**he goddis lyue without feare of th-
that be malycious, and they that be deed are in peace with
out feare of women. The ape is so corrupt, that it corrup-
teth euery man with two pestilent plages so dreadely, that
the fleshe and the harte endeth. **F**austyn, is the loue of
the fleshe so natural, that whan the fleshe screch, scornfully,
we shulde loue the true harte as captiuer. And the reson
as

as reason put her to slighe, the fleshe as fle the body with
pulch her to you as conercome, soe chyldren in the world
are ones, but a good man agayns his wifte and goddesdome
G The empereur rehereth the perilles of them that
haunte women excessively. Cap. xx.

T Hemperour folowinge his purpose declareth
the uniuersall damages, that come to man by
ouermuche conuersation and hauntinge of
women. And after he had tolde some particu-
lar cases that he had luffred with faulter in his
wifte, he sayd: I am wel remembred, that in my yong age I
folowed the fleshe to moch, with purpose never to returne:
And therfore I confess, þt I had good desires in one day
in thide therof a. M. days. I wroughtre þt. It is reason þ
þt women flee from them that flee from you: to hyde þt
from them that hyde them fro you: to leue them that leue
you: to separe you fro them, that separate them fro you:
to forgette them that forget you. So; some scape fro your
handes þt famed and effeminate: and other are hurt with
your tonges, many ben persecuted with your warkes, and
the better to scape free, they come away abhorded of your
harkes and bounde to your lyghtnesses. Than who that
feleth this, what getteth he by the atteynynge therof? O
to haue many perylles offereth he hym selfe, that with
women is greatiþ conuersance! If a man loue them not,
they count hym as a bulleyn: if he loue them, they thynke
him lyghte: if he leue them, they repute hym for a co-
marde: if he folowe them, he is losse: if he serue them, he
is not regarded: if he serue them not, he is hated of
þtome: if he wylle haire them, they wyl not haue hym: þt
þt desire them not, they wylle seeke on hym: if he
haunte them, he is wylle named: if he haunte them not,
þt.

B. II. þt

¶ 4 E. C. V. 8.

they recken hym no man. So hat shall the vnhappy mannes
do? Let men take this fo; cestayne, that though the hus-
bande do fo; his wyfe al that he can do as a man, and that
he ought to do as a husbande; and with his weaheres do
the beste that he can, fo; to fynde remedie agaynst pover-
tie with his trauayle, and putte hym selfe in daunger for
her every houre, al this shal not please his wyfe, nor make
her the better: but she wyl saye, that the traytre loueth o-
ther: and that all that he dothe, is onely to accomplissh the
his pleasure on them. Many dayes ago Faustine I haue
willed to tell the this, but I haue differten it till now, ha-
vinge that thou woldest gyue me occasion to telle it the:
the whiche longe ago thou haste caused me to feele. It is
no paynte of wyse men, that fo; everytime they are an-
swred with their boyses, forthwith to hurt them with
wordes. Fo; amonge wise men the said wordes are most
estemed when they are well appropried and sayde to good
purpose. I do bethynke me, that it is. vi. yere sith Antho-
ny gyt thy father did chuse me to be his sonne in lawe, and
thou me to be thy husbande, and I the fo; my wyfe: thi
my fatal desstenis dyd permitt, at the commandments
of Adrian my lord. My father in lawe gaue the his sayn-
doughter to me fo; wyfe, and the very sadde and poude-
rous empire in maryage. I crowe we were all begyled:
He to take me fo; his sonne, and I to chuse the fo; my
wyfe. He was named Anthony Pius, bycause he was pp-
tiefull in al thynges, saue unto me, to whom he was cru-
ell, fo; in a leterre flesche he gane me many bones: and to
say the trouthe, I haue no teche to gnatue it, nor no heat
in my stomache to digeste hit: and many tymes I haue
thought myselfe losse with it: fo; thy brantle thou wert
desyred of many, but fo; thyne vll condicions thou wert
abhorred of all. O howe vnhappy deþthy desstenies faw-
syne,

syn, and holme yl haue the goddes prouided for her. They
 haue gyuen the beautie, and rychesse so; to vndo her. And
 they haue denied and refused to her the besse, that is good
 condicions, qualitie, and wisedome to maynteyne them.
 I say to the agayne, that the goddis haue ben very cruell
 to her, bythe they aduersed her to the whylepole, where as
 all yll folke peryshe, and haue taken from her, the sayles
 and dores, wherby all good folke escape. The. xxxviii. ye-
 res, that I was without wyfe, semed not to me. xxxvii.
 dages: and the. vi. yeres that I haue bene maried, semed
 to me. vi. hundred yeres. I wyl assure the oþre thyng, that
 if I had knownen before, that I knowe now, and had felte
 than that I felte at this houre, I wolde say an other thing,
 and though the goddis wolde comand me, and Adriaan
 my magister wolde comand me, I wolde not chaunge
 my pouertie and quietnes, for the mariage of the þe them-
 pire. But I haue desired the in thy good fortune, and my
 selfe to myn yll fortune. I haue sayde but a lytelle, and
 haue suffred a greate deale. I haue sayned a great whyle,
 but I can sayne no longer. No man suffreth his wyfe soo
 moche, but he is bounde to suffre more. Let a man, that is
 a man consider, and lyke wylse a woman that is a woman
 consider, what boldenes she is of that quarelleþ with
 her husbande, and that he is a foole that brawleþ openly
 with his wife. So; if she be good, he ought to fawour her,
 that she maye be the better: yf she be a shewe, he must suf-
 fre her, that she ware not wox. Every man knoweth, that
 all thynges suffereth chastisement saue a woman, whiche
 (as a woman) wyl be desited and prayed. Faustine beleue
 me, yf feare of the goddis, the shame of her persone, and
 speche of the people withdrawe not a woman from cuyllie,
 all the chastisement of the world wyl not ouercome her.
 The harte of manne is very noble, and the harte of a wo-
 man

man is deuytie, and wyll haue great hye for a littel goodnes, and for moche evyll no chafisement. A wise man wyl knowe what he hath to do, or he marie. Then if he detest myne hym to take the company of a wife, he ought to enlarge his herte to receyue all that maye come with her. It is but a small wytte in a man to sette by the smalle fantasies of his wyfe, or for to chastise openly that maye be righted betwene them secretely. He that is wise and wyll lye quietly with his wife, ought to kepe this rule: admonishe her often, and reproue her but seidom, and lay no handes on her. For by other meanes he getteth no fidelite in her, nor good entratynge of her, nor good bryngynge vp of their chyldren, nor seruice to the goddis, nor any hope of profite of her. And thus faustine I wyll saye no more to the, but that thou consider, that I do consider, and know that I do se, and that my sustanee vñknowen to the, may fulfylle to amende thy lyfe,

C The emperours answere to faustine for that she sayde, She was with chylde. Cap. xxi.


 Owe that I haue opened and put out the olde venym, I wyll answare to thy present questioun or demaunde. To thentent that medicins may profite them that be syke, it is necessarie to dispyle the opilations & lettes of the stomake. Lyke wyle none can counsayle his frende conueniently, but if he shewe first his grefe. Thou demaundest of me the key of my study, and thou thretenest me, that if I giue it the not, thou shalte be loste and hurte with thy trouye, þe women with chyld haue a good hostage or pledge, for vnder colour of traauaylunge before your tyme, þe wolde haue vs fulfylle all your fonde appetytes. Whanne the holt

help senat in the bnhappy tyme made a lawe in fauour of
 Romayne matrones, they were not so desitous. Nowe I
 moare not holde it is, but ye all are anoyed and wryt of all
 goodnes. And all ye in all p[er]il are desitous and couetous.
 As farre as I can remembrie, whan Cambille made his
 boweto Cybille the mother of goddis, to lende hym victo-
 rie in a battayle, whan he had wonne the victo[r], Rome
 was so poore that it hadde neþher golde nor silver soz to
 make the statute of promesse, the matrones than being, se-
 ing that their husbandes dyd offre their lyues in the saide
 warre, they granted to present their iewels to the holy se-
 nate. It was a meruaylous thyng to see, that withoute
 any spekyng to them, or without any mans entysemēte
 they determinyd all to githet to go to the hye capitol, and
 there in the presence of every man presented their swches
 hanginge at theyz eares, The ringes of their fingeres, the
 macelettes of their armes, the perles from their attires of
 their heades, the collers from their neckes, The broches
 of theyr brestes, the girdelles aboue their myddels, and
 bordes of their gownes. And though that their gift was
 esteemed to a great value, yet their good wylles was este-
 med a greatte deale more. The rychesse that they offred
 there was so greatte, that there was not allonely enough
 to performe the bo[un]d of the statut, but also to pursewe the
 wa[n]ce. And as than the custome of Rome was, þ none did
 them any pleasure, but he was shortly recōpenced: the same
 day that the matrons didde offre their ryche and faire ie-
 wellies in the capitolle, there was graunted unto them
 syue maner of thynges in the Senate: The fyfthe, that
 at their deathes the oratours shuld preache, publyshe, and
 remembre good liuinge: The seconde that they shulde
 sit in the temple, where as before they were wont to stand:
 The thirde, that they shuld wre furred a lyned gownes,
 whete

where as before they ware none but syngle: The. iii. that
 in their diseases they myght drinke wyne, where as besor
 on their lyues they durst drinke none, but water: The. ii.
 that the matrones of Rome great with chylde, shulde not
 be refusid of any thyng that they desyred. These synt
 chinges for certayne were iustlye and wyllynghelme graun
 ted by the senate: And why this lawe that commaundeth
 to denaye nothyng to a woman with chylde was made,
 I wyl tel the occasion that moued the senate so to do.
 Fulvius Torquate beinge consill in the warre agaynst
 the Volscos, the knygthes of Mauritayne broughte to
 Rome a wylde man, that had but one eye, that they hadde
 taken in huryng in the desertes of Egypt. And the ma
 trones of Rome were at that tyme as sad and honeste, as
 they be nowe holde and lyght: so was the wyfe of the said
 Torquate, that was nyghe the tyme of her delveraunce
 great with chylde, of trouth a woman so honeste, that in
 the sorwe solitarynes that she kepte in Rome, she hadde
 moe glosye thanne hadde her husbande in the warres
 for his worthyness, the whiche was welle proued. So in
 the. xiii. yere that Torquate her husbande was in Asy
 a warre fare, the syssse tyme that he wente thyder, she was
 never sene at the wyndowe lokyng out, and she was not
 all onely regarded for that, but in all the sayde. xiii. yeres
 never manchylde nor manne aboue the age of. viii. yeres
 came within her gates. And not contente with this, that
 she dyd to gyue example to all Rome, and to attayne per
 petuall memory, where as she had leste with her thre son
 nes, the eldest of whom was but the yeres of age: and as
 soone as they came to. viii. yeres, she sent them out of her
 house to their grauntfathers: And thus upode this ex
 cellent Romayne lady, to the entent that vnder dolour of
 her owne chylzen there shulde none other gonge chylzen
 encl

entre into her howse. Those yeres passed, after that the good elde man Torquate was raturned fro the warres of the Wolfeos, the sayde wylde man with one eye wente by the doore of the sayde Torquate, and one of her maydens tolde her, that it was a meruaylous thyng to se: and the good lady hadde great desye to see hym, and bycause there was none to bryng hym to her, that she myghte see hym, she dyed for sorowe. And so certayne thought he came often troughe by her doore, yet she wolde never goo no; loke out at her wyndowe to se hym. Her deathe was grely bewayled in Rome, soz she was in Rome most delybeloued, and good reason: for many dayes afore was no suche woman brought vp in Rome. And by the commaundement of the senate, the tenour of this writinge in berles were set vpon her sepulchre,

There lyeth the glorious matron wife of Torquate, that wolde aduenture her lyfe to assure her good fame.

The holde faustine, this lawe was not made to remedy the sorthe of this matrone, but to the ende that to suche as ye be, and to all the woldbe it shulde be a perpetual example of her lyfe, and memorie of her deathe. It was well done to ordene that lawe for an honest woman being with chylde, that it shuld be kept to all vertuous women. And unto women that wold, that the lawe of them that be with chylde shulde be kepte, by the same lawe it is requisite to require that they be honest. In the viii. table of the lawe it is sayde: we commannde, that where therer is corruption of customes, therer liberties shal not be kepte.

Those tydinges was brought to the emperour, that the Mauritayns wold conquerre great Britayne, Cap. xxiij. In

A at the lxxiiij. yere of Marcus the emperours
 aye, and the tenth yere of his election to
 the empire; In the moneth of July as he was
 in the citie of Naples, and not in berye per-
 fithe helthe, so he was looze payned with the
 goute in his foote: there came a Centurion in maner of
 a messager with great hast, saying, that in great Britayne
 was sodenly arruyed a great nauie of warre, to the nom-
 brye of. C. & xxx. shypes of the realme of Mauritain, and the
 quantitie of. xx. M. men of foote: and. ii. M. men of ar-
 mes: and that the kyng of Mauritayns brother was their
 capitayne, named Asciptio, the whiche had taken lande
 at a hausen of the ple called Arpaine, and that to resytle so
 great a power, there were but a fewe people in the sayde
 ple. The good emperour hertinge these tidynge, though
 he felte it inwardely as a man, yet he feynd it outwardly
 as a discrete man with a sadde countenaunce, and made
 fewe wordes. Chanseinge, that busynes myght not be de-
 layed, he sayde these wordes: I wyll go with a fewe peo-
 ple, and do what I can. So better it were with a fewe to
 go betymes, than to tarye for many and goo to late. And
 forthwith the good emperour pourneyed, that all they of
 his palays shuld departe to go to Britayne, and none to
 tare behynde to da hym seruyce. The comande was, that
 the emperours shulde haue alwaye in theym houses such
 men as were thereto be sent for, the in any desynesse that
 shulde happen for warre. And after that they were shyp-
 ped, there arised one of Britayne, that shewed, how the
 Mauritayns were retourned, so that none of theym was
 leste in the see. Then this emperour kepte his hous in a
 good point, byteli occasion suffiseth to them that be na-
 turally of yll inclynacions, to departe and spredethrough
 countreyes to do harme; therfore he sent them of his hous

the entent, that by occasion of the warre, they shulde not leade an yll lyfe. Than the empereour fearing the dissolution of his courte, and boldenes of his officers, to the intent they shulde not leauue vertue and groewe in vice, he de cernyned on a day to call them to him secretly, and to say these wordes to them,

Co what thumperour sayd to them of his court in
eschewyng puelnesse. Cap. xxxii.



He greatest sygne in a vertuous man is to do vertuous werkes, and vertuously to sped and occupie his tyme; and the greatest signe of a loste man is to lese his tyme in naughtye warkes. The greatest happe of all, and the greatest desire of men is to lyue longe. For diuers chaunes that fallie in shor tyme may be suffered and remedied by longe space. Plato sayd: A man that passethe his lyfe without profit, as one unworthy to lyue, ought to haue the rest of his lyfe take from hym. The filthe of secrete chambres, the synche of the pompe in shappes, no; the ozburges of cities do not corrupt the ayre so moche, as ydelle tolke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occupieth his tyme well, no vertue but it encreaseth, so in hym, that occupieth his tyme ylle, there is noo vilanie but it is suspekte in hym. A manne that is alwaye welle occupied, ought ever to be reputed as good; and the ydell man with due further enquierie, ought to be condemned as noughe. Shewe me nowe, I desye you, what nouryssethe the corrupte and sowle wiedes, the nettelles that frynge, and the bisters that prycke, but the eth that is vnilled, and wanen wyde, and the feldes fulle of thystelleres, whiche is not wryded, and wylled with the ploughes.

30150

Lil

O Rome

O Rome without Rome, that nowe as vnhappy hast but
 onely the name of Rome, bycause thou art so bere in
 vertues, and makest vices good cheape. yea yea , and I shall
 tell the, knowest thou wherto: thou art so : bycause thou
 haste vnpeopled the lanes and stretes of werckenmen and
 offycers, and haste peopled it all aboute with infinite ba-
 caboundes. I knowe so; trouthe, that the **G**amptes, **G**o-
 sigoths, **G**astgoths, and **G**eniens spredde in your terri-
 tories, do you not so moche damage as do these ydell and
 losse people studded in every shopp. All wytters canne not
 dent me, that all nations wyllyng to conquere Rome,
 can not take away one loope of the walles of it: and these
 ydelle people haue troden and pulled vnder they; fete the
 good renoume of it . An infallible rule it is : a man giuen
 to exercyses is vertuous, and one gyuen to lewthynges is
 a vicious person. What a diuine thing was it to se the
 diuine worldes of our p^redecessours, the whiche lythe **C**ul-
 lius **H**ostilius vnto **Q**uintus **C**incinnatus dictatour, and
 sith **C**incinnatus vnto **C**yneinos, whiche were of the **S**yl-
 lans and **M**arians, there was never consulle at Rome,
 but he coude do some maner of office or occupation, wher
 with they were occupied whan their office in the **D**enate
 was ended. Some coude paynte pictures or other flatte
 workes : Other coude graue images and portry in wood
 or erthe, or other thynges, or coude wo^rke in siluer, and
 other metalles : and other redde in scholes : In suche wise
 that the holy senate myght chuse none, but if he were fiste
 knowne in some maner handy craft. I do fynde in the
 annales all that is aboue sayde : and if I ly, I doo gyue me
 to the flames of **V**ulcan. And there was an anciente lawe,
 that a myller, a smith, a baker, or a poyn^t maker, myght
 not be a **D**enatour, bycause men of the sayd occupations
 were commodly taken with deceiptes and gley. Then re-
 gard^e

gave the maner and chaunge of tyme, and the corruption
of customes , that. CCC. yeres every man trauayled for
renoume of Rome, & this. viii. C. yeres, every man slepeth
to the sclaudre of Rome. Other thynges I fynd in the layd
annales worthy of etern memorie, the people of Rome ha-
uyng. iii. perillous warres to gether (yonge Scipio a-
geynst the Deniens, Mucio agaynst the Cayens, Merel-
lus ageynst Alexander of Macedonie, and an other Me-
tellus his brother ageynst the Celtiberes of Spayne) the
latte beinge so soze kepte, that none shulde be taken from
themysterie and offyce that he occupied, & the senatours
hauyng extreme necessarie of messangers to sende to the
warres, whan the senatours had gone thre dayes aboute
with the censores of Rome , they coulde not fynde one p-
dell man to be sente forthe with their letters . I wepe for
joye, that I haue of this antike felicitie : and I mourne
for compassion of the mysterie noble beinge. It is a confu-
sion to say, but I wyl saye it: Twenty yeres I had offyce
in the senate, and it is. x. yeres sythe I haue ruled the em-
pire, whiche is. xxx. in all. In the whiche season I swere
by the goddis immortall, I haue caused to whyppe, caste
in welles, to bury quicke, to hange , to prick, and to ba-
nyshe mo than. xxx. M. bacaboundes, and x. M. ydel wo-
men. Than what difference is ther betwene that lyfe and
this dethe, that glorye and this Payne, of that golde and
this ordure, of that antike Roman werke to our presente
muntike ydernes of Rome?

In the lawes of the Lacedemoniens this was written
in the table of the ydell people: We commaunde as kyn-
ges, we praye as seruantes, we teache as philosophers,
and admonysh as fathers, that the fathers shal first teche
their chyldren to lobour the feldes, wherwith by trauayle
they maye lyue, and not in places, where as by ydellenesse

L.iii, they

they may be lost. And that law sayth fethermore: If that
ponge people obey not as ponge, we wylle that the aged
people do correcte and punyshe them as aged. And in case
that the fathers be negligent to comandide them, or that
they be disobedient: we comandaunde the prynce than to be
diligent to chastise them.

Certainly these wordes are worthy to be noted: wher-
by Lygurie the kyng descended eternall memorie for his
perlone, and the sayd realme perpetuall pease in the com-
mon welthe. O Rome, what dolst thou: Why regardest
thou not these lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with
their frendely customes, dothe mocke thy vntall byces
Slepest or wakest? O Rome thou wakest alle the world
to leaue swete trauples, and slepest in uniusle ydelness.
Thou arte sur of ennemis, and thou careles arte draw-
ned in slouth and ydelnes. Than syth that they that bew-
ferre of, do waken the, thou oughtest to awaken the that
thou kepest with the. I wylde speake to all them to geth
of my palays, and longe agon I wylled so to do, but the
multytle of straunge belynes somtyme causeth a man
to forget his owne.

COf the perillous huyng of them that haunt
the courte continually. Cap. xxxiii.

Than the empereour loimed these wordis to the
he had sayde. Many thynges I haue fene, and
of crediblie persones I haue harde, whiche mi-
semed to be pli, and none of them good. Spe-
cially one, whiche offendeth the goddis, sclan-
deth the world, pernicieth the common welthe, and end-
mageth the person selfe: whiche is this cursed slouth, and
ydelnes that disoccupeth them that be good, & bittirly bur-
geth

gred to haught them that be yll. Sometime secretly, and
halfe as in spozte openly I haue admonysshed & rebuked
some of you, but I se it profyse none of you. On one syde
the pricke of reson constraineth me to chastise you: ageyn
consyderynge the malice of mankynde, all though that it
be prompte to yll, sometyme I am determyned to suffre
you. Many tymes I wold with furie chastise you as chil-
dren, but I do refrayne it, consideringe that ye are yonge,
as yet knowe not the wiles of the world: for they holde
so syfselfe together the yll with the yll, and amounghe theym
make so great a leage of byces with the vices, that ther
be many that do by gyle suffre theym to be begyled, that
whan we escape fro a lyttell wyle, and knowe the begyllet,
we thynde that we are begyled al redy with other greate
wyles. I haue metuaylous great compassion of you my
seruauntes, speakyng to you as a lorde: and to you my
chyldyn speakyng as a fathur, so to se you al the day and
nyghte wandryng through Rome as losse persones: and
that worse of all is, I perceyue that ye doo not perceyue
your owne perdition. What greater beastlynes can there
be, than to se you wander lyke soles from howse to house,
fro tauerne to tauerne, from one gasinge to an other, fro
strete to strete, fro place to place, fro play to playe, fro re-
uellers to reuellers. And that more is, that ye know not,
what ye desire, nor what ye wold, where ye go, nor whens
ye comme, what pleaseþe you, or what displeaseþe you:
What is profytable or losse unto you. Nor ye remem-
bre not, that ye were boþe reasonable menne, and that ye
lyue as wylde folke amounghe menne, and after shall dye
as brute beastes. Fro whens wenþe that this cometh?
The cause is the desyre of beastlye mouynges, nor resy-
stynge the desyres of the luste of yonthe, and aboue all
not applieng your mindes and willes to be wel occupied.

Take

Take hede amoung you of my courte, and forgette not
 this. Haue ye no thought but to seke newe pastimes, and
 to borow every daye: No man, of what condition so euer
 he be, except he haunt feates of armes, or other lernynge
 in some ordinarie exercys, shall haue his body lustyng
 his spirite quicke: but shalbe acloyed in al other thinges,
 and wander frome strete to strete, as a bacabounde. The
 harte of man is noble, and hathe power continuallye for
 all actes, and all pastimes of the bodye: and yet in thre
 dayes it is annoyed of hym selfe alone, soo that with him
 can not rest one laudable exercys. Lyke as I am emperour
 of all the woldē, so it is reason, and muste nedes be, that
 I haue folke of all nacions in my palays. And suche as
 the prince is, suche shalbe his householde, & as his house
 is, so shall his courte be, & as the courte is, so shal the hole
 empire be. For this cause a kyng oughte to be ryghte
 honeste: his house wel ordered and ruled, his officers, well
 lerned, and his courte well kepte in awe. Of my good litte
 dependeth their good lyues, and consequently the platters.
 Euery nation lerneth in their particuler scoles, The Sy-
 tiens in Babylon: the Persians in Dorkes: the Indiens
 in Olympe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in Athene:
 the Hebrewes in Helye: the Latines in Samie: the
 Frenche men in Alliance, the Spaniardes in Gades: and
 they all to gether in Rome. The vniuersall scole of all the
 woldē is the persone, the house, and courte of a prince.
 As we emperours do say, the same wyl our subiectes say:
 as we do, they wyl do: that we forlase, they wyl leauē;
 if we lese our selfes, they wyl lose them selfes; if we win,
 they wyl winne: and finally our welch is theyt welch, and
 our harme is their harme. Truly the prince is bounden
 kepe his owne persone honestly and well besene, his hous
 and courte so well ruled, that all they that shall se it, may
 hauē

have desyre to folowe and do therafter: and that all they
that here thereof may desyre to se it. Take ye heire, and let
vs take heire: Haue ye in mynd, and let vs haue in mynd,
that they which be of strāge landes, going through strāge
landes in to strange londes, by theyr great trauyales co-
mynge to haue and demaunde succour and remedy of vs,
may haue no cause to report any scelanders of our custo-
mes. what thing more monstrosous can be noysed among
men, then that they shulde come and complayn of the the-
ues of their countreis to the theues of my courte? what
greater shame and inconuenience can be, than to demand
Justice of theyr mensleers, of the mankyllers of my courte
and house? what crueltie were so cruelle as to complayne
of the bagaboundes of theyr londes, to the blouthefull and
ydell folke of myt house? what thinge can be more shame-
full, than to come to accuse them that haue sayde yle of
emperoress, before them that every day blasphemis the god-
des? What thyng can be more inhumayne, than to come
to aske Justice on hym that hath transgresed but ones, of
them that never dyd good warkes? Truly in suchecase
the poore men shalde retorne with theyr ignorance begli-
led, and we shulde tarie with our cruell malyce chaimed of
men, and culpable before god. Whiche many small mat-
ters do we chastise in men of smal reputation, which with
out breakyng of Justice we myght forbeare, and howe
many great thynges do the goddis suffer in the hye pru-
nis and lordes, the whiche not without Justice they maye
greuously punishe: And by that cruell men as cruell, can
pardon no thyng; and the goddes ppterfull scantely wyll
chandise any thyng. Yet for all this, I wolde that none
shulde deceyue him selfe, for though the goddis forbeare
theyr iniuries, yet they leaue theym not unpunished, by
strānge Justice. The goddis ben in their chastisementes

as he that gryueth a blowe to an other, the hys that he lifeth his hande, the greater is the stroke on the cheke. By ffeinblable wise the mo yeres that they soverre our synnes, the moe aftermaerde do they burre vs with peynes. True-lye I haue sene the goddes dyuerse tymes to dyuers per-
sones forbeare dyuers lyues a grete whyle, but at the
lasse I haue seen them all bywates chastised with one
chafflemente.

Chowe the emperour wolde haue them of his
couerte to lyue. cap. xxv.

The that the goddes haue ordeyned, and my
fattall destynies haue permittid, that I shuld
be chosen emperour (not to flouthfull) I haue
laboured all that I myghte, to vsylte the em-
pire, ye lyltel yonge folkes that are here, were gryuu to
me of your fathers. For to nouerthe you in my payngs.
And so you that ar bigger I was desyred to receyue you,
in hope to haue gyftes and rewardes, and other I sydde
chuse to do my seruice. The intention of the fathers, when
they bring they; children to the courte of princes, is to put
them from dalliance of they; stendes, and banishe them
from the wantonnes of they; mothers. And me semeth it
is well done, for the chyldren from they; yowr he oughte to
gyue them selfe to trauayle, whereby they oughte to lyue,
and resist the disfauour and falles of fortune. Ye are not
come from your countees to lerne the vices of Rome, but
to lerne many good maners that are in Rome, and leaue
the yll maners of your landes. All that doo not this, and
forlake trauayle: gyue them selfe to herte idelnes. The
meserable Rome hath moze neede of labourers for to la-
bour, than of lordes and habytantes patriciens, that

lyl but passe the tyme in reste and pleasures. I swere to
you, that not for weryng the armes with the craft of we-
yng, and the syngers with hymning, the bordel houles,
noweras dayes are fuller of ydel women, than the churches
of good priestes. And I swere agayne, that easelyer maye
be founde. i. M. yll women in Rome to serue in pleasure
of vices, than. i. M. good men to serue in the churches.
I pray you who sleeth the marchantes in hye waps, who
disppyleth wayfaringe men and pilgrymes on the moun-
taines: Who pikelth the lockes and breketh honest mens
dores and windowes: Who robbe by strengthe the chur-
ches: but these lewtrynge theues, whiche wyll not labour
by day, but dispose them to rob by night. O Rome, what
harmes come to the so; one onely eupill: Who hath fylled
Italy so full of loste people, the palays soo full of vnable
persones, the mountaynes soo ful of theues, the tauernes
so full of yl wome, and every place so ful of vacabundes:
but one, the canker of ydernes and slouth, whiche destro-
peth the good costumes more than the wyndes and wa-
ters thyn olde woyne walles. Beleue me one thing, for I
wote that I say trouth therin, that the craft of weauing,
wherin al the naughte vilaines are wouen and wrought,
and the seede of all unhappye byces, the flydynge of all
goodnesse, the fallynge of all theym that be eupill, and the
awakinge and prouokinge of al these, is but this fowle
vice of slouth and idernes. And moxe ouer I saye, that
there is noo vice amoung all vices, that bredeth soo great
a fre, and causeth soo continuall a syckenesse of slepe a-
monge aaged folke, and that putteþ the good folke in soo
great perylle, and doth soo moche damage to theym that
be eupill, as doth ydernes. Who is it that causeth the sedyti-
on amoung the people and schaunger in realmes, but they
that teste and doo nothunge; because they wolde eate the
M. ii. foods

foode gotten by sweat of them that labour: who is it that
syndeth newe intencionis of rebellis and togayne exacti-
ons, but ouel men, the whiche because they wyl not moche
with theyr handes, finde profit with infinite exactions:
who maketh disencion betwene neighbours but ouel folk?
they deuide theyr yle amounghe theyr neighbours, because
they occupie not their forces in good woxes, nor refreine
their tonges to clatter of other mens lynes: who imagi-
neth in these dayes so many malices in Rome, the whiche
was heuer harde of our fathers, nor redde in our bookes:
but vacabundes that neyther applye nor sette their wittes
about nothyng els: but thynke howe to endomage other.
The emperour that coude banishe all these poell persons
out of his empire, myght wel auant him selfe to haue op-
pressed all the vices of the worlde. I wolle it pleased the
immortal goddis, that of so many triumphis that I haue
hadde of straungers, occupied in good exercyses, that I
hadde sene one of the vacabundes of Rome driven out of
all houses. There was an auncient laive, none myght be
taken and receyued for a citisen in Rome, but he were firs
examined by the Censore. In the time of Cato Censorius
when any wolde be a citisen of Rome, this examination
was made of him: He was not demaunded of whens he
was, nor what he was, nor whens he came, nor wherfore
he came, nor of what kinne or auncient stocke he cam: but
only they tolke his handes betwene theirs, and if they felte
them softe and smoothe, for the whiche as an poell vacabunde
than they dispatched and sent him away; and if they found
his handes harde and ful of harde knottis, by and by they
admitted him a citisen and dweller of Rome. Also whan
any officers tolke any plowters and put them in prison that
was called Macrotine, in stede of information, the first
cypringe that they tolke heed of was theyr handes, whiche

If they had bene as a laboures hande, and a wroke man,
 thoughte his crime were greuous, yet his chasteinemēt was
 mitigate, and more easye: and if the vnhabppye prisoner
 chaced to haue ydel handes, so, a littel faute he shuld haue
 sharpe punishment. It hath ben an old sayeng: He that
 hath good handes, muste nedes haue good customes. I
 say, I chastised never labouringe man, but I was sorie
 for it: nor I never caused to whyppe a vacabunde, but I
 was gladdē of it. I wyl tell you more of this Cato Cen-
 sorius, whiche was greatlye feared. So even as chyldren,
 in the scholes, hetyng their maister commynge in, renne
 to their bokes. So when Cato went throughe the stretes
 of Rome, every body went to theyr wroke. O right happy
 baron, before whom the people feared more to be idel, than
 to doyl before many other. Than behold ye at this houre,
 what force vertue hath, and howe valiaunte a vertuous
 man is, seinge that all the worlde feared Rome onely, for
 her worthynes in armes: and all Rome feared Cato one-
 ly for his vertues. The aduentures of men are so dyuers,
 and the suspecte fortune gryueth so many ouerthwart tur-
 nes, that after that a great space she hathe gryuen greatte
 pleasures, incontinent we are cyted to her subtyll travai-
 les of repentaunce. O happy Cato Censorine, who with
 suchē as haue folowed his wapes are nowe sure fro the a-
 batementes of fortune. Than he that wyl haue glory in
 this lyfe, and attayne glory after deth, and to be beloued
 of many, and feared of all: let hym be vertuous in do-
 inge of good wrokēs, and deceyue noo man with bayne
 wordes. I swere vnto you by the lawe of a man of woz-
 shyppe, that if the goddes wolde accomplishe my desyre,
 I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that
 he vised in Rome, than to be Scipio with the abundaunce
 of blode, that he shedde in Afriske. All we knowe wel, that

M.iii,

Scipio

Scipio hadde a great fame in beatyng dylone of citrys,
 and cuttyng innocentes theotes, and Catbo hath attay-
 ned eternall memory in resorving the people, pardoning
 trespassours, and teachynge ignorant folke. Than ye
 may all se, if I haue not good reason, more to desyre to be
 Cato to the profit of many, than to be Scipio to the prelu-
 dyce of so many. Lo my stendes, these wordes I haue sayd
 bycause ye maye see, that our predecessours, some in their
 owne londes, other in strange londes, some beinge yonge,
 and some olde, in theyr tynes had glorie in there persones
 for them selfe: and for the wold to come haue left no lesse
 memorye for theyr successours and offspynge. And we do
 all the contrary, I beinge emperour am lothe for to com-
 mande any pl, and our officers for theyr interest do wos.
 And where as we are set in dyuersle pleasures by dylvice,
 we fal hourelly in to dyuersl miseries, and ar noted to our
 greate infamie. By the which occasion the lust goddes for
 our bniuste wokes, gyuynge wulst sentence, commaunde
 that we lyue with suspition, dye with shame, and to be
 buried with forgetefulnes, never to be had in memorie.
 Than you of my courte take good heede, and prynce welle
 my wordes in your myndes: for who so euer I le or fynde
 ydel from hensforth, I discharge hym out of my seruice.
 ye that be lerned may write and rede, ye that be men of ar-
 mes and knyghtes, exercyle you in feates of warre, ye that
 be officers, occupie you in your offices. And take this for
 certayne, that if ye take not this for a warnynge and mo-
 nition, that I haue gyuen you bewene you and me, the
 punyshementes that I shall gyue unto you shall be open-
 ly. And to the entent that ye haue it better in your memo-
 rie, and to be a doctrine to pryncis hereafter to come,
 this present practise and remonstrance I haue written in
 al tonges, and set it in the hysghe Capitolle with manye
 other

other of my wytinges. The goddis be kepers of you,
and also they defende and kepe me from yll fortunes and
misaduentures.

COf a maruaylous and feareful monster that
was seene in Sicile, and of his wyp-
tynges. cap.xxvi.



At the pere of the foundation of Rome
vii. C.xx. and. xlvi. of the age of Mar-
cus the emperour, and. ii. yeres before
he rote possession of thempire, the. xx.
day of the month **Sextilis**, which now
is called August, about the tyme of the
sonne settynge, in the realme of **Sycil**,
than called **Tenacie**, in a citie called **Bellyne**, on the see
now named **Palerme**, a port of the se, there chaced a thing
right perillous to them that sawe it, and no lesse fearefull
to them that shall here it nowe. As they of Bellyne or **Pa-**
lerme were then celebryng a feaste with great ioy: for
the gladnes that their **Pirates** had ouercome the armie of
the **Auindiens**, and had taken. x. of their shippes, and cast
xxiiit persons into the see, bycause at that time they were
enemis eche to other, and for the yll workes they dydoe,
were shewed the great passions that passed among them.
And as it is the customme, the thinge that these **Pyrates**
get on the see, they departe it amonc them all, whan they
come home. And whan they comme to lande, they spende
that mervil, that they gat with greate trauaple. It is
a thyng well to be noted, howe all good and ylle hartes
are applyed: The good men haue greate desyre to theyr
triumphes, and couetous men to their lucte & winnynges.
Thus.

Thus men ought to be beloved, though shoully after they
ought to be abhorred. And also they ought to be abhor-
red, as though shoully after they ought to be loued.
Thus than the gouernours of the sayde citie commaun-
ded all the sayde shypes to be sequestred in to theyz owne
handes, to the intente that they shoulde not be solde, nor
the coueytous people to haue the vantage in the byeng
of them. The cause was, for the custome of the men of the
ples was, that all thynges shulde be kepte to gether, unto
the ende of the warre, or at leasste till they had peace. This
was a tuste lawe: for many tymes is made stedfaste ap-
pointementes bytwene greate enmyes, and not all onely
for the aunciente hatred, but also for lacke of rychesse to
satysfie the presente domages. Than as all the people
were withdrawē into theyz houses about supertyme, for
it was somer, sodenly there came a monstre in to the myd-
des of the citie after this shape: He seemed to be of two cub-
bites of heighthe, and he had but one eye, his heed was all
pilled, so that his scul myght be sene: He had none eares,
but that a lyttell of his necke was open, whereby it seemed
þ he herd: He had two crooked hornes as a gote: His ryght
arme was longer than the left: his handes were lyke hois-
fete: he had no throte: his necke was egall with his heed:
his sholders shone as pytche, his breste and stomake was
all roughe of heare, his face was lyke a man, sause it had
but one eye in the myddes of his heed, and had but one
noseþyll: from the waste downewarde he was not sene,
for it was couerted: he satte on a chariot with llii. whelis,
wherat were two lypons fastened to gether before, and two
beates behinde: and it coude not be determinyd, wherof
the chariotte was made, but there was no difference in fa-
ction therof and other that were vsed commonlye: In the
myddes of the sayde chariotte was a caudyon lyke a table
with

With two eares, wherin the sayde monstrel was : and therfore it was sene but fro the gyrdelsteede upwarde. He went about in the citie fro gate to gate a long space castyng out sparcles of fyre. The feare was so great, that dypers women with chylde were deluyered with great peryll, and other that were weake harted fell in a swoone. And all the people great and smalle, lesse and moze, ranne to the temples of Jupiter, Mars, and Phœbus, makinge impoztunate cries and clamours. And the same season all the said Pyrates were lodged in the gouernours palayes named Solyn. He was of the nation of Capue , and there was all the rychesse kepte : and whan this monster had ben ouer all the citie with his chariot, than the lyons and beastes brought hym to the palays, where the Pyrates were, and beinge very nygh to the gates that were faste closed, the monster cut an eare of one of the lyons, and with the bloode therof he wrote these letters. R. A. S. P. I. P . These letters were a profe to all theym of hygh spiryte to giue declaration of them: and there were mo declarations than there were letters. But finally a woman diuineresse, or contray, a soothsayer, that was had in great reputation for her craftes, made the very declaration of the sayde letters, sayinge thus. R, redditte. A, aliena. S, si vultis. P. propria. I; in pace. P, possidere . Whiche all to gether is to saye, Render that perteynethe to other, if ye wylle in peace possesse your owne. Surely the Pyrates were sore affrayed of that dredfull commaundemente : and the womā was greatly praised for her hygh declaration. Thā forthwith the same nyghte the monster went into a highe mountayne called as than Janitia, and there by the space of thre days was in the syght of all the citie : and in that season the lyons made great rozinge and howlynge , and the beastes and monster勘ke out great fearefull flames.

R.

Ind

And all that season there neyther appered byd in the air,
no; beaste in the feldes, and all the men offred great sacri-
fices to the goddis, in luche wise that they brake the vey-
nes of their handes and fete, and offered the blode, to se if
they might appease their goddis. After the thre days pas-
sed, sodeinly appered a clowde blacke and derke vpon the
erthe, and it began to thunder and lyghten, with a greate
erthe quake, so that many howses fell in the cite, and ma-
ny of the dwellers and citelins died. And than sodeynely
there came a flame of syre from the monster, and brente all
the palays, where the sayd Pyrates were, and the ryches-
ses that were in it, so that all was consumed in it, yea the
very stones: and the domage was so great, that there fell
mo than. ii. M. houses. And there dyed as good as. x. M.
persons. And in the same place on the toppe of the moun-
tayne, where as the monster was, theperour comanded to
edifie a temple to the god Jupiter, in memory of the same.
Of the whiche temple themperour Alexander, hauyng
warre with them of the realme, made a stonge castell.

CWhat befell to a citesen of Rome in the tyme of
this emperour Marcus. Cap. xxvii.



He same tyme that this aduenture chaunced
in that yle, there was dwellynge in the same
cite a Romayne named Antigone, a lord of
noble bloudde, and somewhat entred in age:
and about two yere before, he, his wyfe, and
a daughter of his were banyshed Rome, and not his sonnes.
The occasion was, There was an auncient laudable
custome, sith Quintus Cincinatus dictatour, that two of
the auncient senatours togyther shulde go with the cen-
sure newly created, and the olde, in the moneth of Decembre

for to bisite all Rome: and they to call euery Romayne a-
parte alone, shalwyng hym the. xiij. tables of their lawes,
and particular deccres of the senate, demandyng of them
if they knewe any neyghbour in their quarter, that hadde
broken these lawes. And if they dyd, it shulde be informed
to the senate. And there all to gyther to ordeyne punyshe-
ment accordaninge to the diuerlyte of the fautes that they
hadde commytted: But the fautes commytted that p[er]e-
sente yere, they myght not chastyle, but to aduertise them
to amende afterwarde. And all suche as were ones war-
ned, and in the nexte visitation founde styll vnamended,
to be greuously punyshed, and somtyme banyshed. These
were the wordes of the lawe in the. v. table and third cha-
pter: It is ordeyned by the holy senate, by consent of blis-
full men, receyving the auncient colonies, that if men be-
inge men in one yere do trespass, the men as menne for the
saide yere shall dissimule and forbere: but if they that be yl
as yl, do not amend, they that be good, as good, shal cha-
stise them. Also the sayd law saith: the first fautes are suf-
fered, because they are committed with weke ignoraunce: but if
they cōtinue them, þ they be chastised, because their yll co-
meth of slouth & malice. This inquisition was euer made
in the moneth of Decēbre, because that soone after in the
month of Janiuer the offices of Rome were diuided. And
it was reason, that they shuld knowe to whom they shuld
givē or denye their dignities: to thentent that good shuld
not be chosen in stede of yl, nor the yl in stede of good. The
pticular cause why they banyshed the man & his wife with
their daughter was this: The second emperour of Rome
August ordeined, that none shuld be so hardy to pis at any
dozes of the tēples: and Caligula the. iiiij. emperour com-
maded, that no woman shulde gyue any cedulae to hange
about the peoples neckes, to heale the feuer quartayne.

¶.ii.

¶.ii.

And Cato Censorine made a lawe, that noo manne nor
 yonge mayden shulde speake togyther at the conduites or
 welles, where they fethched water, nor at the ryuer where
 they washed their clothes, nor at the ouens where they ba-
 ked Meade, bycause all the yonge people of Rome that
 were wylde and wanton tanne euer thyder. So it befelle,
 that as the censures and consules visited the quarter cal-
 led mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus
 accused, that he was sene pissynge against the temple wal
 of Mars: and his wyse was accused, that he hadde sold
 cedules for feuer quartaynes: and lykewise his doughter
 was accused that she was sene at the conduites, ryuers, &
 ouens, spekyng and laughing with yonge men of Rome:
 The whiche was a great shame to the maydens of Rome.
 Than the censures seinge the yll order, that they had soiud
 in the house of the said Anthigone by the regesters, by
 due examinatio, being warned afore, they were banished
 into the yles of Cycill, for as long as it shuld please the se-
 nate. And lyke as in edifices, sumptuous and of greattie
 estimation, one stome is not decayde or wrythed out with-
 out shakynge or mouynge of an nother: even lyke wyse
 is it in the chaunces of menne. For commonly one unhap-
 pynes chaunceth not, but an other folowethe. And I saye
 this bycause Anthigone lost not allonly his honour and
 welthe, but also he was banyshed, and besyde that by the
 tremblyng of the erthe his house fell downe, and slewe a
 welbeloued doughter of his. And all the whyle that this
 was done at Rome, and þ that befell of the monster in Cy-
 cill, Marke the emperour was in the warres against the
 Aragons, and there he receyued a letter from Antygone,
 wherin was rehersed his banyshynge, wherof the empe-
 tour hadde greattie compassion, and to comfort hym, sente
 hym an other letter.

¶f a

Of a great pestilence that was in Italy in
this emperours tyme, Cap. xviii.

Hue vere after the deth of Anthony the meke,
father in law to Marcus Aurelius, and father
to Faustine, there felle a pestilence in Italye.
And it was one of the v. great pestylences a-
monge the Romayne people. This mortalitie
dured the space of two yeres, and it was bniuersalle tho-
rough out all Italy, to the great damage and feare of all
the Romans, for they thought that the goddis wold haue
destroyed them, for some displeasure that they had done a-
gainste them. There dyed soo many, as well of great estat,
as ryche and pooze, greate and small, young and olde, that
the writers had lesse trauayle to wryte the small nombre of
them that were lefte alwyue, than to wyte the multitude
of them that were deed. Lyke as whan a great buyldynge
wyl falle, firste there falleth some stone: In lyke wise the
Romayns never had no great pestilence in their tyme, but
first they were thretned with some token, signe, or prodigie
fro heuen. Two yere before that Haniball entred into I-
talye, in an euenyng, whan the wether was clere & faire,
sodeynly it rayned bloudde and mylke in Rome. And it
was declared by a woman, that the blode betokened cruel
warre, and the mylke a mortall pestilence. Whan Scilla
retourned from Champayne, to put Marius his ennemite
out of Rome, his men of warre and knyghtes sawe in a
nyght a fountayne that ranne bloudde, and who soo euer
was bathed therin, semed to be poysoned with venyme.
Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of. ii. C. and. i. M.
dwellers in Rome, what with theym that dyed with the
swerde, and other consumed by pestilence, were consumed
with Scilla, and of them that fledde with Marius, of the
A. iii, sayde

said grete multitude of Romayns, there abode alwyue no
 mo but. xl. M. persons. Certaynely Rome neuert receiuued
 so great domage in. vi. C. yeres before, as they dydde by
 their owne propre people. All the tyrauntes were neuer soo
 cruell agaist strange landes, as the Romayns were than
 agaist their owne propre landes. And this semethe to be
 true, bycause the same day þ Sylla passed throught Rome
 with his blody swerde, a capitayn of his sayd to hym: Si
 Scylla, if we flee them that beare armour in the feldes,
 & them that bere no armour in their houses, with whom shal
 we lyue? I coniure the by the hie goddes, syth we be boþe
 of women, let vs not flee the women: and sith we be men,
 let vs not flee the men. Thou thyngest that in sleinge all
 the Romaynes to make a comon welthe of beastes of the
 mountaynes. Thou entrest with a crie to defende the com-
 mon welthe, and to put out the tyrauntes that distroye the
 common welth, and we do remayne tyrauntes our selfes.
 To myne vnderstandingyng that capitayn merited as great
 glorie for the good wrothes that he spake, as Scilla dydde
 merite chastisement for the crueltie that he dyd. This we
 haue sayd, bycause that ere suche damages dyd fall, ther
 proceded before certayne prodiges and tokenes. No less
 token was shewid before the mortalite that fel in the tyme
 of this good emperour, the whiche was a fearefull thing.
 The case was so: On a day as themperour was at the
 ple of the virgins Westales, sodeynly there entred in two
 hogges, and ranne aboute his fete, and there felle down
 deed: and on an other day as he came from the hyghe
 capytoll, for to haue gone out at the gate Salatre, he sawe
 two kytes soyninge to gether with their talantes: and soo
 felle down deed at the emperours fete. And within a shott
 whyle or season after, as the sayd emperour came fro hun-
 tyng, his houndes tenyng at a wyld beaste, as he gaue

two greyhoundes that he loued wel, water to drinke with his owne handes, sodeinly they fel downe dead at his fete. Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the greyhoundes ded so sodenly, he was greatly dismayed, and assembled all his prestes, magistriens, and diuinis, demaynge what they sayd to the prodiges, and they by those thinges passed, iudged the dede presente, and determinyd that within two yeres the goddis wold sende great & greevous punyfementes to Rome. Than within shoxt whyle after, there began a warre agaynst the Parthes, wherby there fel the pere after great famyn and pestilence among the Romayns. This pestilence came with sores vnder the arme pittes, so that al the senate fledde away, and the emperour alone abode syll in the capitoll. Than the ayre began to be so corrupte, that though he escaped the pestilence, yet he was vexed with hote feuers. Wherfoze he was fayn to leue Rome, and went in to Champayn: and fynally in the citie of Naples he made his abode duringe the tyme that the pestilence was in Rome.

Chowe Mar, answered his phisitiens that wold haue him leaue his studie. Cap. xxix.

He emperour beyng in the sayde cytie of Naples, where as other sought pastyme to conserue their lyues, this emperour occupied him selfe in his bookes to augment science. A man coude do hym no better seruice, than to seke to gette hym a newe booke: not suche as was written in his tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. This emperour was not onely a louer of olde and antyke bookes, but also of auncient estorizies, and set very great store by theym: And he thus beinge in this cytie lycke and very pl at ease, there

there was brought to hym out of a citie of Asia called He-
lia, by certayne Hebrewes, a boke written in Hebrewe: a hi-
toke suche pleasure in that boke, that oft tymes he wold
leauue his meate and goo to study: and soz all that he was
in his hote feuer, he wolde not leauue to rede, for all that
his phisitiens warned hym, and his frendes prayed hym
and they that were aboute hym, counsayled hym, and be-
maunded hym, why he left to procure the helth of his per-
sone in so moche redyng. He aunswerten: By the goddis
that we honour I coniure you, and for the frendshyp that
is betwene vs, I pray you lette me alone. Ye knowe wel,
that suche as are of a delycate bloode, haue not so moche
solycitude as the rusticall people, that haue hard sinewes
and be of a more harder complexion. Lyke maner they of
clere vnderstandinge haue nede of other medicines, and
to be heled with other syropes tha they of grosse vnderstan-
dinge. This is the differencē that I haue of eyther of them:
The p̄eot keþeþ dyete frome bokes, and testethe on his
meate, and the wise man abhorreth meate, and draweth
hym to his bokes. If they knewe, that knowe not, what
thyngē knowlege is, I sweare to you, they shulde se what
auayleþ moze the lytell knowlege that a wyse man hath,
than the greate ryches of the ryche man. Soz the myscra-
ble ryche persone, the moze that he encreaseth in ryches,
the moze he dumynysþeth in frendes, and growethe in en-
emies to his damage. And he that is wyttie, the wylle
that he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good,
feared of them that be þll for his profit. One of the thyngē,
wherin I holde my selfe moste bounde to the goddis
is this, that they haue caused me to compas the tyme as
I haue done, the whiche is no lyttel gyft for a man to lye
in this worlde. I say it is, bycause I haue had great com-
passioun of the pooze, that be very pooze, of wydwodes, of
them

Men that be sojournfull and unhappy, and of Dypheles. But without comparsyon I haue had greatest compas-
 sion of them that lack knowledge. For the goddis making
 menne ignorant by naturalitie, myghte haue made theyn
 goddis by connyng and knowledge: and as the flouthe-
 fulle men are tamed and made lesse than men by their ne-
 gligence; so certanly blessed he is that is not content to be
 a man, but if he procure to be more than a man by his vertue.
 And cursed is that man that knoweth not to be a man,
 but maketh him selfe lesse than a man by his vice. By the
 segement of all philosophers, there is but one, that is the
 first cause, whiche is one god immortalle: and if there be
 divers goddis in the heuens, it is because there are diuers
 creatures in the erthe. And in the worlde that is past
 the simple men were seruautes and bondes men, and the
 good men rulers and gouernours, they were then so este-
 mado, bycause they were knowne and renowmed in good
 hentes whanne they lyued. So that they were holden
 and reputid as goddis after theyr deathe. This is the
 righte rewarder that commethe of vertute. It is a thynge
 consonant to reason, they that be good amonge so many
 ill in this lyfe, that they shulde be greatlye honoured a-
 mong the goddis after their deathe. Ye are not wel content
 with me, bycause I am alwaye redyng: but I am woxe
 content with you, bycause I never se one boke in your hab-
 itac: ye thinke it greet traauayle to a lycke man to rede, and
 I deputte it a very perillous chinge so; a hole man to rede
 and de idell. Ye say my redyng is cause of my feuer quart-
 rayne in my nosse: and I saye that yelnes engendrethe
 great pestilence. When I may profit by my bokes, let no
 man haue compassyon of my traauayle. For I desire rather
 to speake as a wise person amonoge wise men, than to speake ig-
 nomantly amonoge men. I demaunde one thynge of you:
¶ A man

¶

A man

A man presuyng to be a man and hot learned by what dyng
 essence is betwene hym and other beastes. Verayly the
 beastes are more profitabller to laboure the erthe, than sym-
 ple persons be to settis the comynon welthe. I saye ore gy-
 ued his shynne to make shone, his fleshe to be eaten, and
 his strenght to labour; and a poore symple shryve doth profi-
 tise, his steece and woll to make clothe, and mylfe to make
 cheare; is ac what profiteth a folysche idote man! Nothing
 but offendeth the goddis, schaundreth innocentis, eateth
 the breaude of other, and is chife heed of bacabandes. Of
 trouth if it lay in my handes, I had rather gyue ipse to a
 symple ore, than to a malycious idot. For the beast liveth
 for the vtilite of dyuers, without dnyng domage to any
 other: and the symple idote man lyueth to the domage of
 all other, and without profite to any persone. Therfore
 thinke well why I am not pleased with them that be ig-
 noant, and loue them that be lerned. Henke spys, what I
 shall shew you: That man semethe good, that is weake
 and gentylly of condicyon, softe in wordas, and resylient in
 hys parolyn, and gracious in conuersacion and contrarie
 to me, that persone looyd displeaseth me, that is sharpe of
 wordes, soore moched in his werkis, riottous in his con-
 dicion, and double of his promys, and harde harted. Al-
 so, I say, that if any thyng sayleth a wise man by nature,
 he supplyeth it by science; and he that is ignorant and for-
 kythe, if he faileth discretion, he supplyeth thereto his ma-
 gice. And trust ye surely, that a worthy vertuous man
 by becomethe wise, and he is to be trusted: and he that is
 of an other maner beware of hym, for he gon the aboue to
 sell his aualise. He that shoulde be an other, the fist thing
 that he doth is, by the mēchābyn to be symple and ig-
 noant, for a man beinge in credence maye loone spred
 abroade his malyses. These moches, and soote wormes fren-

gnall the clocher and the rance wome perleth the bottis,
and gittering men doggle all the woldis.

Chowre science ought to be in princis. Cap. xxx.


 He said emperour folowing his purpos, said:
 I stendes beholde, howe greate domage igno-
 rance dothe to all men. And thoughte it be do-
 mageable to every man, yet it is moste hurtis-
 full to a prince, whiche oughte not onely to be
 content to knowe as moche as any other wise person kno-
 weth, but to knowe that every man knoweth, sylle he is
 syde over all other. To my iugement these princis are not
 chosen, that they shalde eate more mete than all other, no,
 to be apparelled tychelyst than all other, no; to reine ra-
 ther than all other: but with presupposition y they oughte
 to knowe more than all other. Whanne a prince wile re-
 ceayne his sensualite, than he oughte to regarde that his
 person be righte hiden, and remembraunce his wode.
 The greater that a prince is of power aboue others, the
 greater oughte his vertue to be aboue all other. To ac-
 cepte the greatest infamie is, to le a man moste mighty
 aboue all other, and moste ryche of all other, and than to
 be mulierian drot and lesse of knowlege than other. All
 defautes in a gouernour may be boyme laufe ignorance,
 for ignorance in a princis is a stroke of pestilence; & it stereth vi-
 nes, & infecteth al persons, & unpeopleleth the realme, cha-
 rgeth alway frides, & giveth hart to enimies of straung nations,
 that were in dyed, & finally damageth his yson, and
 slidmeth every one. wha Camill triumphed ouer the frach-
 me, the day of his triuich he wrote these wordes in the ca-
 pitoll: O Rome, thou hast ben moder of al wise men, & liep-
 dame to al soles. These were worthy wodis of such a lord.
 Q. II. And

and but if my remembrance begyle me, certaynely Rome
 was mox renowned for myl persons that came thither,
 than for the featis of warre that were sente frome thense.
 Our auncient Romaynes were mox feared for their wylle
 dome and knowlege, than for their conquestes. Al the erthe
 feared them mox that tourned leues of hokes in Rome,
 than they that were armed with armour. For that rauishe
 Rome was never vanquished: and though their armes
 were deuyded and broken, yet they never lacked wylle men.
 I can not say it without teares, Rome is fallen frome the
 most hight of her estate: not for want of money and armes
 for to fight withall, but for lacke of wylle men, and beryous
 for to governe. Our forefathers wanne lykemen, and
 we lese lyke simple children: al thinges that are desired of
 men, they atteyn by traualye, susteyne with thought, and
 departe fro with great annoyance. And the reason is this:
 There is nothyng so good nor so well beloued, but the
 cours of tyme causeth vs to leue it, and to despise and
 abhorre it, or be wery therof. This is the hayne vanity of
 the worlde, and lost tyme lost: for with their yong desirys
 they do refrayne their desirys. They wolde oftentymes ad-
 layne a thinge, and after they study how to gan therfore
 gayne. And yet to shewe further their lyghtnes, that they
 cost moche, they gyue for a lycell price. That they loue at
 one tyme, they hate at an other: and that that they with
 great study and labour haue attayned, with greate fur
 they forgo. And me thinketh this is the ordinaunce of the
 goddis, that he that loueth shall haue an ende, and he that
 is beloued shall take an ende: and the tyme that he an
 in shall ende. Than it is reasone, that the loue wherwith
 he do loue, shall ende in lyke wylle. Than our appetite is
 so dishonest, that in seing we desire it, and in desirynge we
 procure it; and in procurynge we attayn it; and in the at-
 taing

tounage we addyd to it; and in addyng age, we leue it;
 and then forthwith agayne we procure an other thyng,
 and thus name procuringe we at hōve a gevin. In such
 wise, that whan we begynne to loue a thyng, than we fal
 ayeyn to hate it, and in the fallynge to hate it, we begyn
 ayeyn to loue an other thyng. So thus finally our lyfe
 doth end, et out concepte dothe leane vs. It is not thus
 of wisedome and knowledge, the which if u ones ente in
 to a mans hart, it causeth hym to forget the trauyale þ he
 had taken in the attaynyng therof. To þe takeþ the tyme
 past as good, and entoþ with tyme full ioy the tyme pre
 sent, and hathe puelnes in hate. Now is not contente with
 that he knoweth, but ensoþeth his appetit to know more,
 leuyng that other leaueth; and leuyng that other lea
 ueth. Finally he þ is perfylly wise, spoylith in this world
 with trauyale, and in traveling in booke is his rest. So we
 haue not to say of all thinges, but of that we fele of them.
 That is an other maner to speake by shentlitude of a bran
 gue, and of our owne experiance. And in this case I saye,
 that though we hope of no rewarde of the goodis, nor ho
 nor amoung men, nor memore of the word to come: yet
 am I ryght gladd to be al onely a philosopher, to se how
 gloriouſly the philosophers haue passed their tyme. I de
 mande vnoþtyme, whan myn understandyng is obfus
 cated in that I haue to do, and whan my memorie is trou
 bled in thas I haue to determinye, and whan my boode is
 compassed with dolours, and whan my batta is charged
 with thoughtis, and whan I am without knowledge, and
 when I am set aboute with peryls, where can I be bettes
 accompanido than with wiſe men, oris rownde amonge
 them? In booke I fynd mydoun, wheroy I may leare:
 Alowhere I fynd mydoun, wheroy I may folowe. I fynd
 there prudenc to couerset me, I fynd suche as be wizow
 ded.

Full with whom I may惯e; I finde them that be
 merry, with whom I maye laughe; I fynde there: fayre
 folke, at whom I maye speake; I fynde that is: noghts,
 whiche I maye leue; And finaly to wytynge I fynde,
 holme in prosperite; I oughte to behau me; and howe in
 abuertisise I oughte to guyde me. O howe happy is that
 man, that bath wel rade; And yet more happy is he, that
 though he knoweth moche, yet stayeth vpon counseil. And
 if this be true generally, than moche more is it necessary,
 that he kepe the tru way, which gouvemeth al other. It is a
 rule infallible, that a prince being wylfe, can never be simp-
 ly good, but very godly; and the prince that is ignorant,
 can not be simpilie, but very ylly. A prince that is not wil-
 ful in his actes, his iudgements may greatly excuse hym to his
 people of his iudgements given to him by fortune. What
 a prince is greatly beloued of his comonwele, and is vertuous
 of his persone, than every man saythe, if he haue not
 good fortune. Although our prynce hat good fortune, yet
 the moste vertuous sayle not; and though he be not hap-
 py in his ententes, yet at the least he sheweth his wisedom
 at the meane deacon; and though he fortune deaue hym at
 one houre, yet at an other tyme he agreeth by his wyl-
 dome. And contrare wise an iuwylle prince, and hated of
 his people, by fortune fayrelye cometh into great perylle.
 For it will succede to him in weighty matieres, than incon-
 uenient in lawle lard, it is by reason of the ignorance of his
 selfe, or by all counseil of men as be about hym; If good-
 nes succede to hym, it shall not be ascribed by reason of
 his good gouernance, but that fortune hathe suffered it;
 and not by the cincumscritiōne wherether he hath had
 at the meane deacon, quicke as may be the cause that his
 goodnes haue come; or han iehu in thys, a vertuous
 worthy prince in his poore tymer, oughte to secrete in to red-
 in bo-

forbothen, and openly to comen and conveall betwix men. And in case yl fortune dwelle not wypethym to take ther counsell, yet at the least he shal conuerce credence amoung his subiectes. I wyl saye no more to you, but I estime the knoledge of a wyle persone, so that if I knewe that there were shops of sciences, as there is of other marchandise; I wold gyue al that I haue onely to certeyn that a wyle manne leyneth in one shope, fynally I saye, that I wyl not gyue that leyneth that I haue learned in one shope, for all the golde in the worlde; and more glorie haue I of the booke that I haue redde, and of soche workes as I haue compased, than of all the historyes that I haue hadg and the realnes that I haue bygune.

To alþoþg
in the two dyngounes now endyng in þis seylng and thoyt of
þerhat a bilayne sayde to the senatours of Rome in the
presence of the emperor: Cap. xxxviii. in vñþing
of wþan alþoþg cap. xlviij. 162. aþiþoniu 613

 **M**aximilian being suche as it is aforsaid, on a day as there were with hym dñe xiiij. þis sþtme. It was a mornynge, þere was a purpos made among them, how greely Rome was chaged, not al onely in edifices but also in custome, þe was ful of statours, a þunderclif of men þe durst say therwith. Then the emperor sayde, Nedeþ þis þere þy þi þas coulþ, þere cam a poore vilaine fro the taverne of þis publie to alþe justice of the Senate aȝenþa resure, who dyd þis þe exhortis to the people; and he had a small face & great lippes, a holow eled, his here curled, a bare headed; his shooes of a porches skin, his cote of gottes heare, his arme of þis ruyse, a wil cogartine in his hande, it was alþaþg young to be burne impudentious, and mercuarie to þere his purpole. Certayn wþan I saw him com into the Senate, I wend it had ben som deest in the figure of a ma-

Ind

This after I had hard by him, I waged hym one of the god
 des, if thys be goddes amonge men. And as the custome
 in the senate was, that the complaingnes of the poore per
 sons were hard before the cequallis of the ryche: this vil
 layne had lycence to speake, and so beganne his purpose,
 wherin he shewed hym selfe as holde, as extreme a base in
 his array, and laby: O mercifull fathers and happy peo
 ple! My plas dwelleynge on the spouts and crages of the
 River of Danable do salutre you senatours that are here
 assembled in the sacred Senate. The dedes permyteth, and
 the goddes sufferty, that the captayns of Rome with their
 gecapone have reduced vnder subjection the vnhappi
 people of Germany. Great is the glorie of you Romaynus
 for your battaynes that ye haue wonne throughout all the
 world. Wchif apperte tyme to tyme, more gretter shall be your
 infamy in tyme to come, for the cruelties that ye haue done
 to the innocentes. My predecessours had people mygh in
 the flessh of Danable, and breake they vpon his, the vni
 knowen dede, and they dyghte to the freashis hewe: than the
 better was myght to them, and they returnd to the foun
 lato. And hat shall I say than? your colleynels so great
 haue straungers goodes, and your pride so renouned, to
 commande all Iriane landes: that the dede maye not prof
 fitte vs in the behenes thereof, no, the dede to affirme vs in
 the cauer thereof. Therefore I hope in the goddis, that
 as ye without reason haue cast us out of our houses and
 possessions: that other shall come, that by reason shal cast
 you out of Italy and Rome. And an intollable rule it is
 that he that taketh an other mans good, shal lese the right
 of his owne. Regarde the malis, though I be a vilaine
 per: I knowe who is iuste and raignewise in holdynge hu
 dwere and who is iyst, in pollentinge others. There is
 a rule, that what so eny they that be yll haue gathered in
 onys

many dayes, the goddis taketh fro them in one day: and contrarie wise all that euer the good haue loste in manye dayes, the goddis restoreth to them agayne in one day. Beseeue me in one thyng, and haue no doute therin, that of the vnlauffull winning of the fathers, there followeth the iuste losse to theyn chyldyn. And if the goddes take from them that be yll every thyng that they haue wonne, as soone as it is wonne, it were but reasone, but in lettyng them alone, therby they assemble by lyttel and lytel diuers thinges, and than whan they thynke leaste theron, is taken from them all at ones. This is a iust iugement of the goddis, that sith they haue done yll to dyuerse, that some shulde do yll to them. Certaynely it is not possible to any vertuous man, if he be vertuous, that he take any taste in an other mans good. And I am soze abashed, how a man heyringe an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Hyth he seeth that he hath done iniure to þ goddis, scladzed his neibours, plesed his enimies, lost his frendes, greued them that he hath robbed, and aboue al hath put his owne person in peryll. This is a shamefull thyng amonge men, and culpable before the goddis, the man that hath the despise of his harte, and the brydelle of his warkes at suche libertie, that the lyttel that he taketh and robbeth fro the poore, semeth moche to hym: but a great dele of his owne semeth to hym but lyttel. O what an vnhappy man is he, whether he be greke or latyn, that without consideration will change his good name into shame, justice into wrōg, ryght into tyranny, or trouth into lesyng, the certayn into vncertayne, hauynge annoyance of his owne goodes, and dye for other mens: He that hath his principal intention to gather goodes for his chyldyn, and leke not for a good name amonge them that be good: It is a iust cause that he lese all his goodes, and so without good name to
P be

to be shamefull amoung them that be yl. Let all couetous
and auaricious people knowe, that never amoung noble
men was gotten good renoume with spredyng abzode of
yl gotten goodes. It can not endure many dapes, no; yet
be hydden vnder couett manye yeres: a man to be holden
ryche amoung them that be ryche, and a hono:able man
amoung them that be honorable: for he shalbe infamed of
that he hath gathered his ryches with greate couetyse, or
kepereth it with extreme auarice. ¶ If these couetous peo-
ple were as couetous of they: owne honour, as they be of
other mens goodes: I sware to you, that the lyttel worm
or moth that eateth the gounes or clothes of luche coue-
tous people, shulde not eie the teste of they: lyfe, no; the
canker of infamie distroye they: goode name and faame
at they: deathes. Harke ye Romaines, harke what I wyl
say, I wolde to the goddis, that ye coude taske it. I se that
all the worlde hateth pride, and yet is there none that fo-
loweth mekenes and humilitie. Every man condemmeth
aduoutrie, and yet I see none that liueth chaste: Every
man curseth excelle, and I se none liue temperately: eue-
ry man prayseth pacience, and I se none that will suffre:
every man blameth slouth, and I se none but they be ydel:
every one blameth auarice, and yet every body robbeth.
One thyng I say, and not without wepyng: I say eue-
ry man with his tongue onely prayseth vertue, and yet
they them selfes with all they: lymmes are seruantes vn-
to vices. I say nat this onely for the Romaynes, whiche
bene in Illicie: but I say it by the senatours that I se in
the senate. All ye Romaynes in your deuises aboute your
armes beare these wordes: Romanorum est debellare superbos,
et pacere subiectis. That is, it partaineth to Romaynes to
subdue them that be proude, and to forgyue subiectes.
But certainlye ye maye better saye: hit partaineth to Ro-
maines

mauns to expelle innocentes, & to trouble & vere wrong
fullly peisable people: for ye Romains are but destroyers
of peisable people, and theues to robbre frome other, that
they sweate for.

COf dyuerse other thynges that the vilayne sayd

before the senate.ca.xxiij.



Ye Romaynes, said this vilayne, what action
haue ye, that are brought vp nyghe to the ry-
uer of Thyber, agayns us that are nyghe to
the ryuer of Danubie: Haue ye sene us fren-
des to your ennemys: o: haue we declared
us your ennemys: o: haue ye harde, that we haue lefte
our owne landes, and inhabited any straunge londes: o:
haue ye harde, that we haue rebelled agaynst our lordes,
o: haue troubled any strange realmes: o: haue ye sent us
any ambassadours, to desyre us to be your frendes: o:
hath any hoste of ours come to Rome to distroye you, as
our enemies: o: hath any kinge dyed in our realme, that in
his testament made you heires to our realme: o: what
anike lawe haue ye founde, wherby we ought to be your
subjectes: Of trouthe in Almayne hereby they haue felte
your tirannie, as wel as we haue herdes of your renoume.
And more ouer I say, that the names of the Romayns, &
the crueltie of tyzantes aryued to gether in one daze vpon
our people. I wote not what pe wyll say, that the goddes
care not for the hardines of me: for I se y he that hath mo-
che, yet doth he tirany to him that hath but lytel. And he y
hath but lytel, though it be to his infamy, yet he wyl serue
him y hath moch. So that disordred me appoint the with
secrete malice, & y secrete malice giueth place to ope thest:
and to the open robbery no man resisteth. And therfore it co-
meth, that the couetise of an yll man necessarily is hadde

P. iii. to be

to be complete to the priuidice of manye good men. Om
 thyng I wyl say, that ryther the goddes ought to think
 howe these men shall haue an ende, or elles that the world
 must ende: oxels the woldre to be no woldre: O^r fortune
 muste holde sure with you, if all that ye haue won in. viii.
 C. yeres ye lese not in. viii. dayes. And where as ye are
 become lordes ouer many, ye shall become slaues to all
 the woldre. Certaynely the goddis shall be vniuste, with
 out that thyng come that muste fal to the woldre hereaf-
 ter. For that man that maketh him selfe a tirant pat foze,
 it is righte that he retourne to be a sclauie by Justice. And
 it is reason, that sith ye haue taken our myserable lande,
 that ye kepe vs in Justice. I haue meruaylle of you Ro-
 mayns, to sende so symple persons to be our iuges. For I
 swere to the goddis, they can not declare your lawes, nor
 vnderstonde oures. I wote not whether ye sent them thy-
 der or no, but I shall shewe you, what they do there. They
 take openly what so ever is delyuered to them: and they
 doo their prouifte with that they desyre in secrete. They
 chastise the poore persone greuously, and they forbear
 for money them that be ryche: they consent to many wron-
 ges, to bryng them after to the lawes, without goodes it
 doth not to demande Justice: and finally vnder colom
 that they be iuges vnder the senate of Rome, they say they
 may robbe all the londe. What is this ye Romayns? Shall
 your pride neuuer haue an ende in commandyng, nor your
 couetise in robbing? Saye what ye wyll. If ye do it for
 our chyldyn, charge them with irons, and make them
 sclaues: If ye do it for our goodes, go thyther and take
 them: If our seruice doth not contente you, styke of our
 heedes. Why is not the kyng so cruelle in our throttes, as
 your tyrannies be in our hartes? Doo ye knowe what
 ye haue done ye Romaynes? ye haue caused vs, to swere,
 neuuer

never to returne to our wyues: but to flee our chyldren,
rather than to leauen them in the handes of so cruel titans.
We had leauen suffre the belyng motions of the fleshe
for xx. or. xxx. yeres, than to dye without wounde leuyng
our chyldren sclaves: ye ought not to do this ye Romans.
I lond taken pat force ought the better to be ruled, to the
tent that the miserable captives, seinge Justice duely mi-
nistris to them, shuld therby forgette the tyzanny passed,
and to set their hartes to perpetuall seruitude. And sythe
we are come to complayne of the grefes that your Cen-
sures do vpon the fludde of Danubie, peraduenture you
of the senate wyl here vs. Wote ye what they do? Harke
and I shall shewe you. If there come a ryghte pooze man
to demande Justice, hauyng no money to gyue, no wine
to present, no oyle to promise: they fede hym with wordis,
sayenge howe he shall haue Justice: but they make hym
to walke the lytell that he hath, and gyue hym nothyng,
though he demande moche. And so the miserable parsones
that came to complayn, returneth complayninge on you
all, cursinge his cruell destynies, and maketh exclamatio-
vpon the rightwise goddes. I lyue with acornes in win-
ter, and cut downe the grene coyne in sommer, and some-
tyme I go a fyshyng for pastyme, so that the mosse parte
of my liuyng is fedyng in the feldes, and ye wote not
why: here me, and I shal shewe you. I se suche tyzannies
in your censures, and suche robberies amouge the pooze
people: and I se suche warres in that realme, and hope of
so small remedy in your senate, that I am determined as
moss bnhappy, to banishe my selfe out of myn own house
and honest company, to thentent that my harte shulde not
fele so great a hurt. It is a great peyne to suffre the ouer-
thowre of fortune: but it is a greater yll, whan one feleth
it and can not remedy it: and yet without comparison my

p. iii, great-

greatest grefe is whan my losse may be remedied, and he
 that may wyl not, and he that wyl can not remedy it. O
 ye cruell Romaynes: if the sorowes all onely shulde be re-
 duced to memorie that we suffre, my tonge shuld be wety,
 and all my membris saynte, and myn eyes shoulde wepe
 bluddy teares, and my fleshe consumed. This in my lond
 may be sene with eyes, herde with eates, and felte in p-
 rson. Cettaynely my hart departeth, and my soule
 is troubled, & myn entrayles breaake. And I beleue yet the
 goddes wyl haue compassion. I wyl desyre you to take
 my wordes for sclauder. For ye Romaynes, if ye be Ro-
 maynes, ye may well se that the trouble that we haue,
 cometh by men, and among men, and with men, and by the
 handes of men. Than it is no meruayle, though men fele
 it as men. One thyng comfōteth me, and dyuers tymes
 amouge other that be yll fortunatē, it cometh to such pur-
 pose, the whiche is: I thynke the goddes be so ryghtwise,
 that their fierce and cruell chastementes come not but by
 our owne cruell shrewdnes: & our secrete sinnes awaketh
 vs so, that we haue open Justice. But of one thing I am
 sore troubled, bycause the goddes can not be contected. For
 a good person for a lytell fault is greatly chastised, and he
 that is yl, for many fautes is not punished at al. So thus
 the goddes forbere some, & some haue noo mercy. Thus it
 semeth that the goddis wyl turment vs by the handes of
 suche men as greue vs extremely. So that if there were a-
 ny tustice in the woldē, whan they chastise vs with they
 handes, we shulde not merite to haue our heedes on the
 shulders. Therfore I say to you, ye Romaynes, and swere
 by the immortal goddes, that in xv. days that I haue ben
 in Rome, I haue seene suche dedes done in your senate, y
 if the leest dede of them had ben done at Danubie, the ga-
 lowes & gibettes had ben hanged thycker of theues, than

the vineyard with grapes and reysons. And sith þ my deſire hath ſene that it deſireth, my hartte is at reſte: in ſpre-
dynge abrode the poſon that was in it. If my tonge hath
offended you in any thinge, I am here redy to make recō-
pence with my throte. For in good ſothe, I had rather to
wyinne honout offerynge my ſelfe to the deathe, than ye-
ſhuld haue it in taking my lyfe fro me. Thus this vilain
ended his purpose. Than the emperour ſayd: How think
ye my frendes, what kernel of a nut? what golde of filth?
what grayne of strawe? what roſe of thornes? what ma-
towe of bones dyd he vncouer? what reaſons ſo hie? what
wordes ſo wel ſette? what trouth ſo true, and what malice
opened he ſo? He diſcouered the duetie of a go od manne.
And I ſwere to you, as I may be deliuered from this eulf
feuer that I haue: that I ſaw this vilain ſtanding a hole
houre on the erth boldly, & we holdinge downe our heedes
abashed, & coude not anſwere him a word. The next day it
was accorded in the ſenat, to ſend new iuges to Danubie.
And we comanded the vilaine to deliuere vs in writing, all
that he had ſaid, that it might be regeſtred in the boke of
good ſayinges of ſtrangers. And the ſaid vilayne for his
wile wordes was made patricien, & ſo tariſt at Rome,
and for euēr was lufteyned of the common treasure.

Chow the emperour deſired the welth of his peo-
ple, and the people his welthe. cap. xxxviii.

In the ſeconde yere that Mar. was chosen em-
perour, the. clv. yere of his aye, as he retou-
ned fro the warres that he had in conqueryng
the Germanis and the Aragons, whereby he
got glory & riches for the Romaynes empire,
he lay at Salo[n] to reſte him, and to appointe his armie,
and

and to thentent that the Romaynes shulde apparelle his triumph in Rome right glorious and rychly: There was one thyng done, that was never sene before in Rome. For the day of his triumph by al the people and consent of the senate the prince Comodus, sonne to Marc^{us} Au. was chosen after the dethe of his father to be emperour vniuersall of thempire. He was not chosen by the petition of his fa-ther, for he was agaynst hit with all his power, sayenge, that the empire oughte not to be gyuen for the lawde of them that be deed, but he shoulde be chosen for his owne good werkes. Often times this emperour wolde saye: Rome shalbe loste, whan the election shal be taken frome the senate, and the Emperour to enheryte the empire by Patrimonie.

CNowe to returne where as we leste. This emperour beinge at Salon, studied soze to entre into Rome in good order, and Rome studied soze howe to receyue hym as it appertained triumphantly for such a warre. He was soze desyred of thempire: and euer he imagined how to do ple sure to the people, and the people were ready to dye in his seruice. Dyuers tymes was moued a pleasant purpose in the senate, whiche of these thynges was moste to be loued: The emperour to loue the people of the empire, or the pe-ple of thempire the emperour. On a daye hit was determyned to sette iuges in that case: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Roodes: and vpon that effecte they hadde wrytynge. It was layde for the emperour, the good dedes that he had done in his absence, and the tokens of loue that they hadde always shewed in his presence. And on an other day the emperour moued an o-ther question before the senate, sayeng, that it was a greater glorie to haue suche subiectes, then the glorie of the se-nate to haue suche an emperour. Than the senate sayd: nay:

nay: Affirming that it is a greater glory that they had of hym, than he coude haue of them. And in this maner the emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to the emperour. Thus in spore and play they toke iudges agayn. It was a marueilous thing to se the ioy that they all hadde to proue their intentes. And the good emperour so: a memorie gaue the laude to the peple, because of their great obedience and seruice, and extreme loue that he had founde in them: And the happy people recouerted the great clemency & mercy that was in themperour, and his vertu & worthynes in gouerning, his honestie of lyuyng, & his force and valiantnes in conquering. It was a great thing to se the honour that the people gaue to the emperour, and the good renowme that the emperour gaue to the people. The wrightinges were gyuen to the strange ambassadours, to thentent that the people myght leyne to obey theyr prin-
cis: and princis to loue theyr people. To the ende that by such examples, as it was reason, the good people shuld enforce them selfe, and the ill to withdrawe. Thus this emperour adressed his entre with his capitaynes & capti-
ues, and Rome apparyled them with all their senatours
and people to receyue hym. It was a huge thinge to see
what people was at Rome to go for the to mete hym, and
what people were with the emperour to entre. They that
were at Salon hadde their eyes and also their hartes at
Rome: and they that were at Rome had theyr hartes atte
Salon. In suche wise that theyr eyes daseled with that
they sawe, and theyr hartes aked for that they hoped to se.
There is no greater peyn, than whan the harte is deser-
red fro that it longeth soze to haue,

How the emperour gaue Lucilla his daughter ly-
cence to sport her at his palays. ca. xxviii.

Tis to be knownen, that the Romayns had a custome, that in the monethe of Janiuer, they shulde make triumphes to thei r emperours: and in the same seson that the triumphes were apparailed, Faustyn thempresse caused diuers high persons to pray the emperor to gyue lycence to a doughter of his, to com from there as she was kept, to the palays, and spozte her at the feastes. This mayden was named Lucie or Lucyll: She was higher than the prince Commodus her brother: She was of a goodly gesture and well proportioned of her bodye, and well be loued of her mother. And she resembled her not all onely in her beautie, but also in her lyuyng. And though the request was pitifull, and they that made it famiter, and he to whome it was made was the father, and the demaunder was the mother, and she for whom it was made, was the doughter: the emperor graunted it, but not withoute great displeasure. Nevertheles Faustine was fulle glad, and as soone as she had obteyned lycence, she brought her doughter to the palays. And so whan the day of the great feast and triumph was comme, the damoyseil Lucylle beyng out of gouernance, and seinge her selfe at large, trusting than vpon her owne innocencye, toke noo hede of anye strange malyce, laughed with them that laughed, talked with them that talked, and behelde them that behelde her, & without care she thought that none thought ylle of her, bycause she thought yll of none: yet in those days a mayden to laugh among men was reputed as moch as a woman to haue done aduoutrie with the prestes of Grece, so great was the honestie of Romayn women esteemed. And lightnes of maydens was a great infamie: for they were wox punisched for one open lyghtnes, than for two secrete fautes. Amonge all other seuen thinges the women dyd

obserue



obserue surely, that is to wytte, not to speke moche at feastes, not to eate moche at bankettes, to dynke no wine in they; helthe, no; to speake alone with men, no; to lyste vp their eyes in the temples, no; to stande longe lokyng out at wyndowes, no; to go out of they; houses without their husbandes. The womanne taken with any of these dishonestynges, was always after reputed infamed. Many thynges were suffred of personnes in smalle reputation, that were not suffred in persons of honour. So; the noble wome coude not coserue the reputation of they; estate, but by reson of keping their person in gret fere & good order. Al thinges dowe vnkindly is syn, & may be amended: but the dishonest womā is alwaye shamed. The noble ladies, if they wyl be take as ladies, whan they excede oþer in riches, the leſſe licence ought they to haue to go wadring about. Certainly the plētie of goodes, & the libertie of persons shuld not be a spur to p̄zzeke the forward, but rather a bydell to kepe them in their closettes. And this is sayd, for þcause that duringe the sayde feastes, the damoysele Lucille, as a yonge mayden, and Faustyne, her louynge mother not beinge olde, sommetyme a foote, and somme tyme rydynge on hōse backe, somtyme openly, and somtyme meruaylous secretely, sommetymes with company, and sominetymes without compayne, some tyme on the day, and noȝe and than by nyghte, they wolde walke abroad in the stretes of Rome to se the feldes of Vulcan, in gardynes Saturnynes, and dynke at the conduites of Aeras water, and sommetyme passe the tyme by the fayre riuer of Tiber, and in all suche other pleasaunt sportes as apperteyned to they; age. And though the foyr typed primetyme prouoked them thereto, yet the grauitie of such ladies shulde not suffre it. I wyll saye one thinge, so thentent noble women shuld take aduertisement therby,

¶.ii.

AND

and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greateste dissolution, eyther the walkynge abrode of Faustyne and Lucille throughe the stretes and other places, or elles the boldnes of yll speakers, speakinge agaynst theyz persons and good names. The withdrawyng and kepyng of wemen close is a byydell to the tongues of all menne: and the woman that dothe otherwise, otherwyse putteth her good name in daunger. Of trouthe it were better for a woman neuer to he borne, than to be defamed. Amonge the Romayns the lygnage of the Cornelies were had in great estimation. For of theym al, neuer none was founde a coward, nor a woman defamed. The histories shewe, that ones a lady of that lygnage bringe onelye defamed, was hanged on the galowes by the handes of her owne kyngfolke. Surely it was well done of the Romaynes, to the entent that the wickednes of one waman shulde not suffer yll fame to renne vppon the hole lygnage: where is there noblenes without shame? The thynges that touche honour, ought not to be hyd but amended by Justice, and to put theym to deathe, that lose theyz good fame. It is not sufficient for a person to be good: but it is necessarye that he put fro hym all occasions that are reputed to be yll. All the losses that a man may haue of any temporall goodis, can not countrepeyle the leste losse of good fame. A man that layeth his good name for a ferthyng at a but of this woldē, at a hundred shottes scantlye shall he shote one a ryghte. And contrary wise the man that feareth no shame, nor will nat haue his personne in reputation, there is no hope of goodnes in hym. Than this emperour, as a Hypomayster saylyng in moolte feare and calme wether, forecasteth, and is in greatte thoughte and feare of tempestes and stormes to come, in the feastis of his greate glorie was in doublet of these two ladies, leste sodenly any myl fame

same shuld folowe. And certaynly he had great cause. For hit is an infallible rule of eniuious fortune, that this pre- sente felicitie is gyuen with a p^ricke of a todayne falle of myschaunce. In thinges naturall, we se somtyme the see caulme, and yet soxtheith folowethe a peryllous storze, and consequently the great heate of the daye is signe of thunder at nyght. I say fortune comyng with some pre- sent delyte or pleasure, is a token that by flatteryng vs, she hath made redy her snares to catche vs. When the mil- ler is sure, he dresleth his water gaate, and the labourer whan it reyneth not, couereth his house, thinkyng that an other tyme the wethers or raynes wyll fall theron and trouble hym: In lykewyse a wyse and a vertuous man ought to thynde, as longe as he lyueth in this w^orld, he holdeth his felicitie but at aduenture: and his aduersite for his naturall patrimonie. Amonge al them that coude reioyce in p^rosperitie, and helpe theym selfe in aduersite, this emperour Marcus Aurelius was one: whiche for a- ny flatterynges that fortune coude shewe hym, he never trusted in them: nor for myshappe that he had in this life, he never dispayred.

CWhat Marcus thempetour sayde to a Senatour
as touchyng triumphes. cap. xxxv.

WHanne these feastes were passed, as **S**extus **C**heronense sayth, a senatour named **M**utinus sayde to thempetour, the same nyght that the triumph ceassed: **H**y: reioyce you sith that this day ye haue gyuen so great ryches to the common treasare of Rome: and I haue sene your person in the triumph of glorie: and to the w^orld to come of you and your howse you haue leste parpetuall memorie. The

D.iii. empe-

emperour hering these wordes, said in this maner: I redes it is good reson we beleue, the hūter knoweth the stersnes of bestis, the phisition the propretie of herbes, þ maryner the perils of rockes, the capitaynes the chances of warre, and the emperour that triumpheth the loyes that he hath of triumphes. As god helpe me, and as euer I haue part with my predecessours, and as euer I haue good fortune, the thoughtes that I haue had for these festes, haue ben farre greater than the feares that I haue had in all the turnayes and battayles afore. And the reason thereof is verye euident, to them that haue clere vnderstandinge: For alwayes in cruel batayles I was euer in hope to haue glori, & feared not the ouerthow of fortune. What coude I lose in battayle? Nothinge but the lyfe, that is the leest thyng that men haue, and alwayes in these triumphes I feare to lose renowme, whiche is the greateste gyfte that the goddes haue gauen me. O howe happy is that man, that loseth his lyfe, and leueth behynde hym perpetuall memorie / lette euerye man vnderstonde this that wylle, and saye what they lyste: that amonge noble and valyuant barons, he dyeth not, that lesethe his lyfe, and leauethe good renoume after hym: and moche lesse tyme lyueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued many yeris. The auncient philosophers rekened not the lyfe of a man, though he lyued many yeris, but they rekened the good werkes that he hadde doone. The senate was importune vpon me, that I shulde take this triumph, as ye knowe well: and I can not tell whiche was greatest, their desire or my resistaunce. You knowe not the trouthe why I say thus. I dyd it not bycause of ambition and for couetousnes of glorie, but it was because I feare þ humaine malice. At the daye of the triumph there was not so great tog sywed by the syngle persons, but the hyd enuye was greater

greatest amonge the gretest persons. This glorie passeth
moue day, but envy abydeth a hole yere. The plentifulle
realme of Egyp, so happy in the blodshed of their ennies,
as in the wates of Nyle, had a lawe unmouable. They
never denied their mercy to the captiues overcome : noz
they gaue no triumph to theyz capitayns overcomers.

The Caldees mocke at the Romayne triumphes, affir-
myng how there is not gyuen so great chastisement to the
capitayne of Egyp come, as the empire Romayne
gyue to the overcomer, whan tryumph he is gyuen to hym.
And surely the reason is good, for the thoughteful cap-
tayne, whan he hathe chased his ennemys, that Rome
hath in straunge londes, with his owne p^rop^e speare, in
payment for his trauaple they gyue him ennemys in his
owne prop^e lande. I swere to you, that all the Romaine
capitaynes haue not leste so many ennemys deed by swerd,
as they haue recouered ylle wyllars the daye of theyz try-
umphes. Let vs leaue the Caldees, and speake we of our
auncient Romaynes, which if they myghte retorne nowe
agayne in to the worlde, they wolde rather be tyed faste
to the chariottes as captiues, than to lyt in them as byc-
tours. And the cause is, theyz neighbours scinge them go-
inge as captiues, wolde moue theyz hartes to set them at
liberte, so that the glorie of theyz triumphes is a meane to
cause them to be persecuted and pursued. I haue red in
writynge, and herde of my predecessours, and haue seen of
my neigboures, that the aboundinge of felicitie hathe
caused cruel enuie to be in many. O in what peril are they
that with particuler hono^r wold be exalted among other.
In the mooste highest trees the force of wyndes is mooste
aduaunced. And in mooste sumptuous bulidynge^s lyghte-
ninge and thunder doothe mooste hurte, and in greatte
fyre and dye busshes the fyres kendle mooste easelye:

J

I say that in them that fortune hath repysed moste hyghly,
 agaynst them spredeth the greatest poysen of enuye. All
 such as be vertuous say: The mo ennemis they subdue
 to the common welthe: the mo envious they recouer of
 their renoume. One ought to haue great compassion of a
 vertuous man: bycause where he trauyaleth to be good,
 there abydethe one thyng in hym, of the whiche all onely
 at the deth he seeth the ende. And that is, the more a man
 recouereth here renoume amonge strangers, the more he
 is persecuted with envy amonge his owne nations. Ho-
 mer shewethe in his Illiades, that Calustio kynge of the
 Argives was expert in clergie, balaunt in armes, and in-
 dued with dyuers graces, beloued with his people, above
 all other he was a great louer of his goddis and worshyp
 per of them. This good kynge had a custome, that in all
 thynges that he had to do, he wolde syke as he counsellit
 in the temples of the goddis: he wolde begynne no warr
 agaynst other, nor ordeyne no newe lawe nor custome in
 his realme: nor gyue awnswe to thambassadours, nor
 put no trespassours to death: nor set no tribute on his peo-
 ple: but first he wolde go to the temple, and make diuers
 sacrifices to knowe the wyl of the goddes. And bycause
 he went so often to the oracles, he was demaunded what
 awnswe the goddis made to him in secrete, seinge he was
 so importunate. Than he answered and sayde: I demand
 of the goddes, that they shulde not gyue me so lytell, that
 euery man myght abate and ouercome me: Nor also that
 they shulde gyue me so moche, that every manne shoulde
 hate me: but my desyre is to haue a meane estate, where-
 with euery manne myghte loue me. For I hadde leauet
 be felowe with many in loue, than to be kynge of all with
 hatred and envy.

M. L. A.

D

¶ Of the great reproche that thempetur gane to his
wyf Faustine and her doughter. Cap. xxxv.



After the feastes of the tryumphes afore sayde,
this good emperour wyllyng to satysfye his
hart, and to aduertise Faustine his wyfe, and
to teche his innocente doughter, withoute
knowledge of any other, he sente for theym,
and sayde: I am not contente f Faustine with that youre
doughter doothe, and yet lessie with that you doo, whiche
is her mother. These maydens soz to be good maydens
ought well to knowe, howe to obey theyz mothers: And
the mothers to be good mothers, ought to knowe howe
to bryng uppe theyz chyldzen. The father is excused in
bywylng counsayle, if the mother be vertuous, and the
doughter shamefaste. It is a greate shame to the father
beinge a noble man, that his wyfe beyng a woman shulde
chastyle his sonne: And a great inconuenience of the mo-
ther, beinge a mother, that her doughter shulde be chas-
tity by the handes of her father. There was a lawe orde-
ned by the Roidens, that the father with the doughter,
if he had a mother, nor the mother with the sonne, if he
were a man, shulde not entermedle eche with other, but
only men with men, and women with women oughte
to be brought vp. And theremistrie of the law was suche,
that amonge them that dwelled in one house seemed þ the
fathers hadde no doughters, nor the mothers no sonnes.
¶ Home, I wepe not to se thy stretes unpaued, nor that
there is so many gutters in thy houses, nor that the batyl-
mentes fall downe, nor the tymbre hewed downe, nor for
the mynshynge of thyme habitantes, for all this the tyme
bringeth, and the tyme beareth away: but I wepe soz the
and wepe for the agayne, to se the unpeopled of good fa-

chers, and brygouised in the nourishing of their sonnes. Our countrey began to falle vittery, whan the doctrine of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, and their brydell lette go at libertie. For there is now such boldnesse in men children, and so lytell shamefastnes in women chyldren, with the dishonestie of the mothers, that where as one father suffised for .xx. sonnes, & one mother for .xxx. daughters, nowe .xx. fathers scantly dare vndertake to bryng up well one sonne, and .xx. mothers one daughter. I say to you thus faustine, you remembre not how you are a mother, you gyue more libertie to your daughter than ought to be suffised. And you Lucille remembre not, how you are a daughter. For you shewe to haue moxe lybertie than requireth for a yonge mayden. The greatest gyfte that the goddis haue gyuen to the matrones of Rome is, bycause they are women, they kepe them selfe close and secreete: and bycause they be Romayns, they are shamefaste. The day whan the women want the feare of the goddis secreete, and shame of menne openly, beleue me, eyther they shall falle the wylde, or the wylde them. The common welch requireth so greate netesilitie, that the women that dwel therin shuld be as honeste, as the capitaynes be valiant. For the capitaynes going to warre defende them, and the women that abyde at home conserue them. As a. iiii. yeres passed ye sawe the great pestilence, and I demanded then to haue a compt of the people, and I founde that of a. c. xi. M. women well lyuyng. lxxi. M. dyede And of a. c. M. yle women in maner they scaped all. I can not teile to whiche I shulde wepe, eyther for the lacke that we haue of the good and vertuous women in our common welch, or elles for the grevous hurte and damage that these yle and wicked women doo to the youthe of Rome. The syre that bremeth in mounte Echina dothe not so greate damage

monge to them that dwelle in towne, as ony wome dwel in the circuit of Rome. A fierc beast and a perillous enemis to the comon welthe is an yl woman: for she is of power to do moche hatme, and is not apte to folowe any goodnesse. O howe many realmes and kynges rede we of to be losse by the yl gouernance of women, and to resistre agayuste them hath ben nede of wisedom, peryls, money, force, and worthynes of many men. The vices in a wome is as a grene rede, that boweth every way: but the litherie and dishonestie is as a dryke that breaketh: in suchwise that the more yll they bittre, the more unlykely is the redresse therof agayn. Behold faustyn there is no creature that more desirerhonour, and woxs kepereth it than a wome. And that this is true, se by Justice, by oratzions, by wrytynge, and other trauaples manne getteth renowment but (without it be by flatteryng and fayre speakyng) unto this houre, by antyke wryting we can rede of fewe womyn or none, that eyther by wrytinge, redyng, workinge with nedell, spynnynge, or by weuyng hath gotten them any great renoume. But as I saye of one, I saye of an other. Certaynly of dyuers we rede, by kepyng them close in their houses, well occupied in their besynesses, temperate in their wordes, faythfull to their husbandes, wel ordered in their personnes, peisable with their neyghbours; and finally beinge honeste amonge their owne famylie, and shamefaste amonge straungers, such haue attayned great renowment in their lyfe, and lefte eternal memorie of them after their death. I wol tel you an antyke historie, as profitable to restrayne our vices, as it did than augment vertues, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemoniens (as Plato sheweth) was at a sease of moche dissolute by the unchristynesse of women, than infamed by the crueltie of men: so that of all maner nations they were called Barbariens.

Bell,

What

What tyme Grece as a mother called philosophie of philosophers, Lygurge a wile philosopher in knowlege, and a right iuste kyng to gouerne, partely with his doctrine righte profitable, and partely with his pure lyfe made lawes in the sayde realme, wherby he excepred al vices, and planted all vertues. I can not tellle whiche of these two were moste happy, The kyng haupnge so obediente people, or els the realme to haue so rightfull a kyng. Biogē all other lawes for women he made one greatly to be commended: He comandied, that the fater that dyed, shuld gyue nothing to his dougheer. And an other, that neyther kynginge nor dienge he shuld gyue any moner to mary her with: to the entent that none shalbe marye her for her ryches, but all onely for her goodnes: and not for her beautie, but for her vertues. And where as nowe some be unmaried bycause they are poore, so then they abode unmaried bycause they were shamefull and vicious. O tyme, worthy to be desyred, whan maydens hoped nothyng to be maried with theyr fathers goddes, but by the vertuous werkes of their owne persons. This was the tyme called the golden wōlde: whan neyther the doughter feared to be disherited by the fater in his lyfe, nor the fater to dye soþe for leauynge her without remedy at his deathe. O Rome cursed be he that first brought golde into thy hous; and cursed be he that firsste beganne to hurde by treasure. Who hath made Rome to be so ryche of treasure, and soþe of vertues: who hathe made menne wedde billynnes doughters, and leaue the doughters of senatours unmaried? what hathe made, that the ryche manns doughter is demanded unwylyng, and þ daughter of a poore man none wyl desyre? what hathe caused that one marieþ a fool with syue. C. marke, rather than a wyse woman with. r. v. vertues: Than I saye that in this poynte the fleshe han-

banquyfeth the fleshe, and evelter the vanuite of the ma-
 tie therof is banquyfhed. How cometh it þ a couetous p-
 sonne wyll sooner nowe adays haue a wyfe that is ryche &
 soule, than one that is poore and fayre? O vnhappy wo-
 men that byynge forthe chyldren, and moxe vnhappy be the
 daughters that are boorne, whiche to haue them maried no
 strofe is set by the blodde of their predecessours, no; the fa-
 vour of their frendes, no; the value of their warkes, no;
 the beautie of their persones, no; the clennes of theyr lyfe,
 O cursed wrold, where the daughter of a good ma with-
 out money shall haue no mariage. But it was not wonte
 to be so. So; in the aunciente tyme, whan they treated of
 maryages, fyfste they speake of the persones, and after of
 the goodis: not as they do at this houre, in this vnhap-
 py tyme: so; nowe they speke fyrste of goodes: and latte of
 all of the persone. In the sayde golden wrold syfste they
 speake of the vertues þ the persone was endowed with, and
 whan they were maried, in spoxyng they wolde speake
 of the goodes. Whan Camillo triufphed vppon the Gau-
 les or frenchemen, he had then but one sonne, and he was
 suche one, that his persone merited great lawdes. And so;
 the renome of his father, dyuers kynges desyred to haue
 him to their sonne: and dyuers senatours desyred to haue
 hym to their sonne in lawe. This yonge manne beinge of
 the age of. xxx. yeres, and the father at. lx. he was impo-
 tunately syzed by his naturalle frendes, and desyred of
 strange kynges for to mary hym: but alway the olde Ca-
 millo repugned the counsel of his frendes, & the importu-
 nitie of the straungers. whan it was deuaunded, why he
 determinyd not vpon some maryage for his sonne, syfste
 therby shulde folowe the restefulle lyfe of the yonge man,
 and the quietnes of hym selfe in his age. He aunswereid:
 I wyll not mary my sonne, bycause somme offer me ryche

B. iii. dought-

Doughters, some noble of lagnage, some yonge, and some
fame: but there is none hath sayde to me, I gyue you my
vertuous doughter. Certaynly Camyllie myghted to haue
triumph for that he dyd. And he deserved eternall memo-
rie for that he sayd. I say to you Faustine al these woddes,
ycause I se you lede your doughter to the Theatres and
playes, and do bringe her into the Capitall. You put her
to the keppynge of the swerde players: you suffre her to se
the tounblers, and yet you do not remembrye, that she is
yonge, and you not aged: ye go into the strectes withoutte
lycence, and play by the rauers. I fynd no vilany therin,
nor thynke that your doughter is pl: but I say it ybecause
you gyue occasion, that she shulde not be good. Belue it
Faustine: never truste in the case of the fleshe of yong peo-
ple. No: haue no confidence in olde folkes. For there is
no better way than to flee the occasion of all thinges. For
this entent the brygnes besydes are closed by betwenethe
walles, to eschewe the occasions of open places; not to be
more lyghte and foolyshe, but to be more sadde and vertu-
ous, fleyng occasions. The yong shal not say, I am yong
and vertuous, nor the olde shall not say, I am olde & boren.
For of necessite the due flare wyl brenne in the fyre:
and the grene flagge smoke in the flamme. I saye that a
man beinge a diamonde encased amonge men, yet of ne-
cessite he ought to be quicke and mery amonge women.
And as ware melteth in the heate, we can not ware, that
thoughe the wodde be taken fro the fyre, and the ymbres
quenched, yet never the les the stones oftentyme remaine
hote and brennyng. In lyke wylle the fleshe thoughte it be
chastised with hote & due maladies, or consumed by many
peres with traualye, yet concupisence abideth styll in the
bones. What nede is it to blasen the vertues, & deny our
naturalities? Certaynly there is not so crooked a hoyse, but
if he

If he se a mare, he wyl bryg ones of twise. There is no man so yonge nor old, but let hym se yong damoysels, cyther he wyl gye a ligh or a wilche. In all voluntaryng thinges I be nienot, but that one may be vertuous: but in natural thynge I confess every man to be weake. Whan ye take the wood fro the fire, it leueth brennyng: whan somer cometh the colde wynter cesseþ: whan the see is cauline, the waues leaueth ther behemente mouynge: whan the sonne is sette, it beshyneth not the wold. I wyl say that than, and not before the fleshe wyl cease to peyn us, whan it is laide in the graue. Of the fleshe we ate boorne, and in the fleshe we lyue, and in the fleshe we shall dye. And therby it foloweth, that our good lyfe shall sooner ende than our fleshe. Oftentymes some holsomie fleshe for meate corrupteth in an unholosome potte: and good wyne somtyme sauoureth of the foiste. I saye though that the werkes of our lyfe be vertuous: yet shall we sele the stench of the weake fleshe. I say this Faustynelith age can not resist the hote enterpris, howe can the tender membris of youth resist it: you being the moder, without you go the right way, she being your daughter can not go the same way. The Romayne matrones, if they wil nourishe their daughters wel, ought to kepe these rules. Whan they se, that they wold goo abroad, than breke their legges: and if they wold be gasing, than put out their eies: and if they wyl harke, stop theyre ears: if they wyl gye or take, cut of their handes: if they dare speke, sowe vp their mouthes: and if they wyl entred any lyghtnes, bury them quicke. Wordes ought to be gien to an yll daughter: and in stede of presentes and giftis at her weddinge, gyue her wormes: and for her hous a graue. Take hede Faustine, if you wyl haue great ioye of your daughter, take fro her the occasiōs, wherby she shall be ylle. To vndersette a hous behoueth dyuers propes:

End

And of the principales be taken awaie, hit wylle fall downe. I wyl tell you, womeyne are so fraylle, that with kepers with great peyne they can kepe them selfe: and for a small occasion they wyl lose all together. O howe many yll bath there ben, not bycause they wold be so, but by cause they folowed such occasions, the whiche they oughte to haue eschewyd. It is for me to entre into this battayle, but yet it is not in me to attayne the vyctorie. It is for me to entre into the see, yet is ipeth not in my handis to escape the perylle. It is in the handis of a woman to entre into the occasion, and after that she is therin, hit is not in her handes to deluyuer her from faute.

Chōme thumperourounsayled Faustine to eschue alle occasions fro her doughter. Cap. xxxvii.



Traduenture Faustine ye wyl saye to me, that none may speke to your doughter Lu cylle, but if you here hit: no; se her but in your syghte, no; hide her; but you knowe where: no; make none appoyntment with out your knowledge. And arte this howre you knowe not, that they that do hate her, & wold her yll, what dis honour they, tonges doo speake of her. Newe loue in ponge bloudde in the springinge tyme and flourishyng youthe, is a payson that forthe with sprede the into every barne: It is an herbs that by and by entrieth the entrayles: a swownyng that incontinently mortifieth al the membris, a pestilence that fleeth the hartes: and fynally it maketh an ende of all vertues. I wote not what I saye yet, al though I knowe what I wyl say: for I wold never blasen loue with my tongue, without I were so herte in myn understandyng. Ouyde sayth in his boke of the art

ante of loue: Loue is I wote not what: that commeth I
wote not whens: who sent it I wote not: it engendreth I
wote not how: it is contented I wote not wherwith: it is
felle I wote not howe ofte, nor I wote not wherfore. And
synally loue taketh rote without breakynge of the fleshe
outwarde, or percinge the entrayles inwarde. I wote not
what Ouidie meaneth herby: but I wrote whan he sayd
these wordes, he was as farre banysshed from hym selfe,
as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O Faustin, they that
loue together, shewe the sygnes of theyz hertes by diuers
ways, and in slepyng the reason and speke: and by sig-
nes they vnderstande eche other. The greate boyce out-
warde is sygne of lyttell loue inwarde: and the great in-
warde loue kepereth silence outwarde. The entrayles with
in embraced in loue, cause the tonge outward to be muet.
He that passeth his lyfe in loue, ought to haue his mouth
close. And to the entente that ye shall not thyndeth, at I
speake fables, I wyll proue this by auentur histories.

We synde auiently, that in the yere. li. C. and. ix. af-
ter the foundation of Rome, Estrasco a yonge Romayn,
that was dombe, and Veronne a sayre lady of the Latins,
that was dombe also, These two saue eche other on the
mount Celyoit at a feast, and there fel in loue eche with o-
ther. And their hertes were as soozie fised in loue, as theyz
tonges were tied fro wordes: It was a meruylous thinge
to se them, and scaeful to note here. The yonge lady cam
to Salou to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salou, by
the space of. xxx. yeres to gether without the witing of any
personne, nor they two spake not. Than at the last died the
husbande of the lady Veronne, and the wife of Estrasco,
and than they discouerd their loue, and creted a mariage
betwene theym, of whom descended the noble lignage of
the Scipions: whiche were moze lyberalle in the seates

of armes, than they; fader and mother were in they; tonges. Then Faustine marke this thyng: Lyttell aduantage it had ben to haue cut out the tonges of the two dōbe folkes, to haue remedayed they; loue, and not to haue cut out they; hartes.

Also I shall tell you of Malinissa a worthy knyght of Numedie, and Sopharise a famous ladpe of Cartilage, al only by one sight, as they saue eche other on a ladder, he declared his desyre vnto her: and she knowing his lust brekyng the ooxes of feare, and lyftynge vppe the ankers of shame, incontinent rysyd the sailes of they; hartes, and with the shippes of their psons they toynd eche to other. Here may we gather, how the first sight of their eies, and knowledge of their persons, and the leage of their hartis, and the mariage of their bodyes, & the pardition of their estates, and the infamie of their name, in one day, in one houre, in one moment, and in one steppe of a ladder, were agreed. What wylle ye that I say more to this pouerpose? Do ye not know, that Helayne the Greke, and Parys the Trojan, of two straunge nations and of ferre countreis, with one onely sight in a temple their wylls were so knyt together, that he tooke her as his captyve, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appered but smal force, and in her but lyttell resistence. So that in maner these two yonge ylones, the one procuring to vanquyshe, and the other suffering to be vanquisched, Parys was cause of his fathers deathe: and Helayne of the infamy of her hus bande, and they bothe of their owne deathes, losse to their realmes, and sclauder to al the wold. All this loue caused, one onely syghte.

Cxwhan great king Alexander wold haue gyuen batayle to the Amazons, the quene capitayne of them no lesse faire than stonge and vertuous, came to a ryuer syde, and the space

spare of en houer eche of them behelde other with theyr
eyes, without speakeyng of any word: and whan they re-
turned to theyr tentes, the fierlines was turned into swete
wanton amorous wordes.

Cwhan þy the the faythfull defender of the Tarentyn-
nes, and renowmed kyng of Epivotes, was in Italye,
he camme to Naples, and he had not benne there but one
day, the same season there was a lady in the same citie na-
med Gamalicie of a highe lygnage, and greatly esteemed
in beautie: The very same day she was gotten with childe
and shamed throught out all Italy, and was thruste out of
the citie, and after she was deluyered of childe, she was
slaine by one of her owne brethernes.

Clio Celopatra in the prouynce of Bythynye, in the
wid of Sebyn, made a goodly banke or solempne feaste
to Marcus Anthoni her louer. And though she was not
very honest yet had she with her ryght chaste women: and
thus the banke enduryng a great part of the nyght, and
the wid being thicke, the yonge damsels were not so wyl-
y to hyde them, but the yonge men Romayns found them:
so that of. i.e. doughters of senatours. lb. were gotten with
childe among the thycke bushes; whiche thyng made a gret
scandre in the people, and augmented the infamy of Cle-
opatra, and minnished the honellie of Marc Anthony.

CThus as I haue shewed of a smalle nombyre, I coude
say of many other. All men are not men, nor all women
be not women. I say it because I wolde it shulde be sayd:
let it touche them that it rowcheth, and lette them that
can understand me. There be some shypes, þare so lyghte,
that they wyll sayle with a lytell winde, & there be some
welles þ wyl grinde with a lytel water. I say there be som
women so bricke, that as a glasse, with a syllopppe wyl
bryke, and wyl shyp with a lytel myre. Shew me faustin,

S. ii. haue

haue you suffered your daughter to speke but with her bncles, and kept company but with her cosins? I say in this case as moche wilenesse hath the mother as the daughter to renne in peryll. Do you not knowe, that the quicke fire doth not so bren the wod be it were or dry, but inlikewyse it consumeth the harde stones? Do you not knowe, that the hongre excessive causeth beastes to deuour with theyz teeth the thynges that was bchedde in their entrayles? Do you not knowe, that the goddes made a lawe ouer al thin ges, except on louers, bycause they may not abyde it? And doubtlesse it is ryghtwisenly done, that Rome condemneth not these folyshe innocentes, bycause they haue none understanding. The goddes gyue no peyn to amorous people, bycause they are deceipted fro reason. Ye knowe whan I was censure, there was a yong woman that had a child by her owne father, and an other that had a chylde by her sonne, and a niece by her propre uncle, and there was sentence gyuen on them, that the fathers shulde be cast to the Lyons, and the chyldren buried quicke, and the mothers were hrent in the campes of Mars. The mattier was so horribble to here, that I myght not endure to se the cursed men. And I commanded by my decrees, that none shulde be so holde to speake in suche a case any more. And if this case were searefull to men, than certaynly the Romayne matrons ought to lyue chastely. Than if the fire of the father doo chause the dou ghter, enflamerethe kyngfolke, and burne themselfe: Than take heede, if he fynde after, ryther coulson or fayre sister, the flames of his concupiscence wyll not leue to take holde on her for any parentage. If this riotous fleshe wyll obey reason, than it maye be, that your daughter may speake liberally with her cousins: but sith that passion repugneth so moche at reason, I counseil you trut not so moche in her bretcherne, you se by experiance

em, that the worme that is bredd in the tymbre, eateth the same tymbre: and the moorthes that are bredd in the clothe, eatethe the same clothe. I saye that sommetyme a man byngeth vp in his howse some persone, that after taketh his lyfe fro hym. Faustine take this that I haue sayd for a warnyng, and these laste wordes I giue you for councell. If you wil kepe your selfe fro thought, and your daughter fro peryll, alway let your daughter be occupied with some good werkes. Whan the handes are occupied with any good exercise, than the harte is boyde fro many ydell and bayn thoughtes. Every lightnes done in youth breaketh downe a loape of the defence of our lyfe: but ydlenesse, wherby our enuye entreth, is it, whiche openeth the gate to all byces. Faustine wyll you wite: I se dayly the parditon of the yonge Romayne doughters: For as soone as they de burne, they presume to be amorous: they as bithoughtfull, with the rechelesnes of the father, and wantonnes of the mother, leaue the iust trauaile, and take vniust idelnes. Of ydel motions & outragious thoughtis theries take licece without leaue, the mynde altereth, and the will is hurte: and finally thynkyng to be the whyte, that amorous men shote at, they remayne as a butte fulle of all byces. And in conclusion there is nothing that moore exchaceth the balle of the thought (in this playe) than the hande settē a worke therwith.

CWhat thought Marcus the emperour take for the
marriage of his doughters. ca. xxviii.

THAN the good emperour Marc hauyng a clere understanding, and a quiete wytte, toke right great heede of thynges that were past, prudently waryng thinges present, & thinges to come.

S. iii.

Seyng

Beinge that the partition of pauncies lay all in wyl, totally
gyuynge them selfe eyther to strange thinges, forgettynge
their owne, or els to entendre to their owne, nothing regar-
dinge strange thynges: His hart was so agreeable to him,
that neyther the hygh busynesses of them: nor soyl all the
affaires of his house, he wolde not leaue one of them perte-
ynspe. I say this, bycause this emperor Marcus had
fourre daughters, whose names were Lucille, Poorsena,
Matrina, and Domititia. All resembled their mother in ex-
cellent beautie, but they resembled not theyr father in ho-
nestie and vertuousnes. And though they were in gouer-
nance vnder their maystresses out of his presence, yet he
had them always in memorie: and the elder they were, the
more study and thought he tooke for them: and whan they
cam to cōplete age, he studid to fynd prouision for them.
It was a laudable custome, that the daughters of the offi-
ciers of the Senate shalbe not marye withoute licence,
nor the emperours daughter without the aduysemente of
the senate. Than it was so, that one of the sayd princeses
his daughters, bryngyng of ayege, and of wyl to be maryed,
her father seinge her impozunitie, to accomplayshe her de-
sire, bycause he was sycke, he sente for Faustyne, that she
shulde goo and commune in the senate. The whiche with
all her power she withstode, bycause that secretely she had
treated for an other mariage for her daughter. And open-
ly she excused her selfe, sayinge, that her daughter was to
yonge and tender of ayege: and as the goddis had gyuen
age sufficiēt to þ father, so had not the daughter of peres.
Whan the emperor vnderstode this, he called Faustyne
to his bedde side, where as he lay and layd: Dyuers thin-
ges are dissimuled in particular persons, the leste of thme
is not to be suffered in þe that shuld ensigne all other. The
prince is never well obeyed, but if he haue good credence
amonge

among his people. I say this Faustyn, because you do one thing in secrete, and say an other openly. Herein fayleth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritie of so great an empire. If ye suppose my good desires be sinister in your hart for the welch of your awne chyldren: howe shulde we hope than in any of your good woxkes for the chylde of strangers? It semith to you better to giue your daughter to them that demande her of the mother, and to refuse them that the father doth chuse. Certainly because ye be a womā, you deserue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augment your faut. Do you not knowe, that maryages are guyded, somme by fortune, and some by vertues and wylsdome. Suche as demande the daughters of the fathers, beleue me, their eies ben more vpon their owne proper btiltie, than vpon the welch of an other. I knowe well, you bryngge forthe the chyldren, but the goddis wyl marie them, sith they haue endewed them with so meruaulous beautie. Doo you not knowe, that the beautie of women setteth straungers on desire, and putteth neyghbours in suspection, to great me-
 & gryueth force, to meane men enuye, to the parentes infamy, and perill to the person selfe: with great pepne it is hepte that is despred of many. Of trouth I sape the beautie of women is nothyng but a signe for ydell folke: and an erly wakynge for them that be lyght: where as of the strange despresa lyeth the renome of them self. And I deny not, but that a light person serchith loner a woman with a faire face, than one of honest lyving. But I say, that a wo man, that is maried only for her beautie, may hope in her age to haue a soroylyfe. It is an infallible reule, that she that was maried for her fattenesse, is hated for her towlenes. O what traualle he offreth hym selfe unto, that marrieth a faire woman! It behoueth hym to suffice her pypde,
 for

For beautie and folys alway go to gether: Also he must
 suffer her expecnes. For foly in the heed, and beautie in the
 face benetwo wormes, that crete the lyfe, and wasteth the
 goodes: also he must suffre hit ryottes. For a fayre woma
 wyll that none but she haue her commendementes in the
 house: also he must suffre her nice myntonnesse: for every
 fayre woman wyll passe her lyfe in pleasure: also he must
 suffre her presumption: for every fayre woman wyll haue
 preeminence before all other. Fynallye he that marieþe
 with a faire woman, appareleþ hym to a right greet ad-
 venture: & I shall tell you wherfore. Surely Carthage
 was never so enuironed with Scipios, as the house of a
 fayre woman is with lyghte persons. O vnhappy husbād
 whan his sprite is at rest, and the body sleeping, than these
 lyghte personis wyl come about his house, vnieng his body
 with celously, castynge their eyes to the windowes, scaling
 the walles with ladders oþ climbing ouer, singynge swete
 songes, playeng on dyuers instrumētes, watchyng at the
 gates, treatyng with daudes, vncouering þ house, & wal-
 tinge at every corner therof. All these thinges, in case they
 shote at the p̄icke of the womans beautie, they leue not to
 shote at the buttis of the sorowfull husbandes good name.
 And whether this be true or not, report me to my self, that
 maried me with your beautie: and let them wytte of my re-
 nōume that go so about the citie. I say moche, but truly
 I se more. No man complayneth of the goddes for gy-
 nyng hym a foule wif, amonge his deffenynges. Whiche
 syluer is not wrought but in blacke pytche: and the ten-
 der tre is not conserued but by the harde rynde. I say the
 man that marieþ a foule wif, leideth a swē life, lette euer
 y man chuse as he lyfeth: and I say, a man that marieþ
 a faire wife, casteth his good fame at hazard, and putteth
 his lyfe in peril. Al the infamie of our predecessours bodes

Innone exercisinge of dedes of armes : and nowe all the
pastime of the Romayne youth is to serue ladies . Whan
a woman is famed to be sayze, than every man gothe thither,
and taketh great peyne to serue her, and the women
woll be sene . I lave Faustine you neuert sawe a yonge da-
moy sel Romayn, greatly renowmed in beautie, but eyther
in dede or in suspection there folowed somyl name of her .
In that lytell that I haue redde, I haue harde of dyuers
sayze women, both of Grece, Italy, Parthe, and Rome :
and they be not put in remembraunce, bycause they were
saine, but for the great perylls and heyp chaunces that
by their beauties felle in the woldre . For in maner by
reason of their excellent beauties they were blisited in their
owne landes : and by their infamye shamed throughte all
the woldre .

Whan the realme of Carthage was flourysshynge in
riches and happy in armes, they ruled the common welth
by wyle philosophers, and suspeyned it by discrete armes
on the see . Arminius the philosopher was as greatly este-
med amonge them, as Homer amoung the Grekes, or Ci-
cero amoung the Romaynes : he lyued in this woldre syre
Scope yeres and . li . Of the whiche happy age . lxx . yeres he
ruled quietly as a baron most peasseble of mynd : and was
as strange to women as familiar with his boches . Than
the senate seing he was so broke with the common welth,
and withdrawen from all naturall recreacions, they desi-
red hym with great instance to be maried, bycause that
memory myghte be had of soo perfite a wyle man in tyme
to come : and the more importunitate they were in, the more
he resisted a sayd, I wyl not be maried : for if she be soule,
I shall abhorre her : if she be ryche, I muste suffre her : if
she be poore, I must mayntain her : if she be faire, I must
take hede to her : if she be a shewe, I can not suffre her :

C

and

*disconvenien-
ce in mariage*

and the leasle pestilence of all these is sufficiente to flee a
M. men. with suche wordes this wise man excused hym
 selfe; and he in his aege, by reason of his greatte studye,
 loste his sighte. And the solytarines of his swete lyberties
 constrainyd him to take company of a womā, and she had
 by him a daughter, of whom descended the noble Amy-
 laces of Carthage cōpetitours of the Scipions of Rome,
 the whiche shewed no lesse worthiness in defensē of Car-
 thage, than ours were fortune to augment Rome.

Cell me Faustine, maye not suche suspicion fall vpon
 your daughters, though their vertue succour in the peril,
 and their honestie assure their persons? I wyll discouer a
 secrete thyngē to you. There is nothyngē that can be soo
 quickly commytted, if a womanne be empayronned with
 chast kepers and feminine shamefastnes. Soo stedfastly they
 desire, and with greatt keyture they procure these thinges,
 that lyghtly may be atteyned. There is nothinges soo cer-
 tayn, but that the welth of an other is matter for the owo
 euyll. And Faustine ye knowe, that the moste honeste wo-
 menne by our malice are moste desired. Certainly they
 shamefastnes and kepinge close, ben arowes in defensē of
 our honestie. We rede not that bludds, riches, nor beaulte
 of the unhappy matrone Lucrece was the cause that she
 was desired: But the clerenes of her vsage, the grauite of
 her persone, the purenes of her lyfe, the keppuge of hym
 close in her howse, the exercicie of her tyme, the credence
 amonge her neybours, and the greatte renoume that she
 hadde among straungers, waked the soolyshē Tarquyne
 to commytte with her aduoutrie by force. What thyngē
 you: wheroft came this? I shall shewe you, we that be
 yll, are so yll, that as yll we vse the goodnes of them that
 be good. This is no faute to the ladies of Rome, but ca-
 ther in the immortall goddis. Their cleve honestie accu-
 sethe

fathour cruel malyece. Faustine, you say your daughter is
 to yonge to be maried: Do you not knowe, that the good
 facher ought to endocrine his sonnes fro their yong age,
 and to prouide for his daughters whiles they be yonge.
 It is reduthe if the fachers be fathers, and the mothers
 moders, as soone as the goddis haue giuen them a dough-
 ter, forthwith they oughte to fyre in their hartis a newe
 remembraunce: and not forget it, tyll they haue prouised
 their daughter an husband. The fachers ought not to tary
 for ryches, nor the mothers for high lygnage the better to
 marie them: So what with the one & the other, the tyme
 passeth, and the daughters ware aaged: and than after
 this maner they be to olde to be maried: and to abyde a-
 lone, they be maydens: and to serue they be women, they
 lyue in peyne, the fachers in thought, the parentes in su-
 spection, least they shuld be lost. O what greet ladies haue
 I knownen daughters of greet senatours, and not for faute
 of ryches, nor of vertues in their persons, but all only for
 flache of tyme, and drijvinge of one houre to an other, so
 that at laste sodelyn dethe came to the fachers, and no pro-
 uidence made for the daughters: So that in maner some
 were couered vnder the erthe after their deathe, and some
 buryed with forgetfulnes. Either I lye, or I haue redde
 in the lawe of the Rodiens, where as it is written: we co-
 mande the facher in marienghe. i. sonnes, to trauaylle but
 one day: but to marye one vertuous daughter, lette hym
 trauayle. i. yeres, ye & suffre the water come to the mouth,
 sweate dropes of bloode, trauayle the stomake, disherite
 all his sonnes, lose his goodis, and aduenture his person.
 These wordis in this law were piteful for the daughters,
 not lesse greuous to the sonnes. For i. sonnes by þ lawe
 of men abyound to discouer, & to go ouer al the wrold: but
 þ daughter, by þ good law ought not to go out of þ hous.

¶

I lye

I say moze ouer, that as thinges vnstable thate fallyng,
 so lyke wise it chaunseth to yonge damselles, whiche thin-
 keth all their tyme lost and superfluous vnto the dape of
 their mariage. Homere sayth, it was the custome of ladies
 of Grece to count the yeres of their lyfe, not fro the tym
 of their byrthe, but from the tym of their mariage. As if
 one demaunded of a Grecian her age, she wolde aunswere
 xx. yeres, if it were. xx. yeres sith she was maried: though
 it were. ix. yeres sith she was borne: Affirmyng after they
 hadde a house to gouerne and to commaunde, that day she
 begynneth to lyue. The Melon after it is ripe, and aby-
 deth stylle in the gardyn, can not scape, but eyther rotteh
 or elles must be gathered. I saye the mayden that tarrieth
 longe, till she be maried, can not escape, eyther to be take
 or infamed. I will saye no moze. As soone as the grapes
 be ripe, it behouethe that they be gathered: so it is necessa-
 ry, that the woman that is come to perfite age be maried
 and kept. And the fater, that doth this, casteth perill out
 of his house, and bringeth him selfe out of thoughte, and
 contenteth well his daughter.

¶ Of a syckenese, wherof the emperour died, of his
 age, and where he died. Cap. xxxix.


 Arcus the Emperour beinge olde, not onely
 by age, but by trauatle and great peynes that
 he had taken and suffred in warres: In the
 xviii. yere of his empire, and. lxiiii. yere of his
 age, and of the foundation of Rome . vi. C.
 and. xl. as he was in Panony now called Hungarie, with
 his hoste and Commodo his sonne, at a citie called Ven-
 debone, situate vpon a ryuer, that had. iiiii. M. five houses,
 and beinge in wynter, and the wates great, a very weare-
 wether

weather, he beinge in the feldes about the xxx dayes of December: sodainly vpon a nyghte as he wente with lances about his campe; there toke hym a syckenese or palsey in one of his armes, so that he coude not weld his speare, nor yet drawe his swerde, nor put on his owne clothes. Than this good emperour charged with yeres, and with no lesse thoughtes, and wynter increasynge with manye great snowes, and freysyng of the erthe, there felle on him an other malady called Lytarge, the whiche put the Barbariens in great hardines, and his hoste in greatt heunes, his person in peryl, and his frendes in great suspecte of his helthe. There was done to hym all the exerycise that coude be founde by medicines, as vnto great pryncis and lordes is accustomed. And all dyd hym no profite: by reason the maladye was greuous, and thempetour charged with yeres, and the ayre of the lande was contrarye to hym, and the tyme helped hym nothyng: and also he was not well intended. And as men of worshyppe settethe more by their honour than by their lyues, and had rather dye with honour, than lyue dishonoured, to assute theyr honour, they aduenture every houre their lyues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, than a. C. yeres of lifte. So thus this sickle emperour caused him selfe to be boorne all about his campe, and went to see the scarnyshes, and wold slepe in the feldes: the whiche was not without great peryll of his lyfe, nor without great trauaylle of his person. Thus on a day the emperour beinge in a great feuer and letten bloudde, harde a great clamour or noyse in the felde: made by his men that had brought home great quāttee of fourage, and their ennemis sette on them to retue it: there was medlyng on bothe parties, the one to beare away, and the other to defende: The Romayns for hunger, dyd what they coulde to beare it away: And the

Citt.

Hun-

Dungariens fro whense it came, made responce: They medled so one with an other, and their debate was so cruell, that there was slayne v. capitaynes of the Romayns, the worse of them was more woxhe than all the fourrage that they had won. And of the Hungariens were so many slayne, that all the fourrage that they had lost, was not so moche woxth. Certapnly considering the crueltie that was there done, the profite that came therby was very smalle to the Romayns, so that there went but a few away with the fourrage, & of the Hungariens fewer was left to make resistance. The emperour seing the yl order, and that by the reason of his blouddelettyng and feuer, he was not present at that aete, he toke surche a heuynes at his harte, whereby he fell into suche a traunce, that it was thoughte he had ben deade: and so he lay. iii. nyghtes and two days, that he coude se no lyght of the shpe, nor speke to any persone. The heate of his sickenes was greate, and his peynes greater, he dranke moche and eate lyttelle, he coude not slepe, his face was yelowe, and his mouthe blacke. Somtyme he lysed vp his ries, & oftentymes ioyned his handes together: He spake nothyng, and syghed many tymes. His throte was so dype, that he coude not spyte: his eyes were very looze with sobbyng and wepyng. It was greatte compassion to se his deathe: and a great plague of confusyon to his house, and also the very great losse of his warre. There durste no manne loke vpon hym, and fewer speake to hym. Panutius his Secretarie, sorowynge at his harte, to see his mayster soo nero his deethe, on a nyght in the presence of dyuers other that were there he sayd to him.

CThe wordes of Panutius his secretary to the empereour at the houre of his deathe. Cap. xl.

D Mar-


 Marcus my lord, there is no tongue that can
 be styll, nor any herte suffre, nor eyes dissimule,
 nor wytte that can permynce it: My bloudde
 congeleth, and my snewes brie, the stones ope
 nethe, and my sowle wolde passe foxthe: the
 topntes bnyorne a sonder, and my spritis are troubled,
 bycause you take not the wyse and sage counsayle the whi
 che ye gaue to other that were syngle. I see you my lord
 die, and I ought to be soore displeased therwith. The so
 rowe that I fele at my hert is, how you haue lyued lyke a
 wise persone, and at this houre you do lyke a simple man.
 Tenne were a knyght gneweth mete to his hors, to thentent
 that he shoulde kepe him fro peryll: and all that the wyse
 man studieth for a longe season, oughee to be to passe his
 lyfe with honour, and to take his deeth with great vertue,
 Right dere lord I demande of you: what profyte is hit
 to the mariner to knowe the catre of the see, and after to
 peryshe in a tourmento or tempeste? what profyffte is hit
 to a capitan to speake moche of warfe, and after know
 not how to gyue battaille? whatte profyterthe hit to a
 knyght to haue a good hors, and to fall in the strete?
 what profyterhit to reche ast other the plain way, and hym
 selfe to wander aside? I say what profyed hit the soore of
 your lyfe, that you esteemed so lytell your lyfe, many ty
 mes sekyng your deathe? And at this houre that you
 haue sounde deathe, you wepe bycause it wyl take away
 your lyfe; Whatte thynges haue I written with myne
 hande beinge your Secretarie, dyuisid by your hyghe
 and profounde understandyng, to wchynge the stroke of
 deathe; what thyng was it to see the letter, that you sent
 Claudine vpon the deathe of her husbande? what wrote
 you to Anthypgone, whan your sonne Merillitus dyed?
 wherin your vertue dydde consolate his heuinessse, what
 hygh

100c An. though I^r comforde alredy agaynst dey. for my self
you it rane

M A R C Y 2 V

hyghe thinges dyd I write in the boke that you sent to thi
Senate, in the yere of the greate pestilence: comfortynge
them afres the great mortalite passed: therin you dydde
shewe them, howe lytell men shulde set by deathe, & what
profite foloweth therby. And I haue sene and herde you
blason deathe in your lyfe, and nowe you wepe, as though
you shulde lyue here upli. Wyth that the goddis comand
it, and your age requireth it, & your sickenes is the cause,
and nature permitteth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and
is the fatal desteny of vs all, than you must nedes dye.
The trauaples that come of necessite, oughe with a good
courage to be abyden. For the couragous feleth not so
soore the harde strokis, as the weake that fallethe or he be
foughten with, you are but one man, and nat two: and
ye ought to haue one deathe and not two. Therfore whi
wolde ye for one lyfe haue two dethes, entercyng the bo
dy, and levinge the spirite with sighes. After so many pe
niles of longe lyfe to take a suwe poze, wyllynglye by the
lavyes, and entre agayne into the swolme of the see, for to
engourte you. In the see you haue thaced the bulle and
scaped his woodnes, and no me ye refuse to entre in to the
parke, where you may surely flee hym. You make assaile
with victori of your lyfe, and wyl die atreyninge the deeth.
You haue foughte. Ixxii. yeres in the campe of miserie, and
nowe you feare to entre into your sepulchre: you haue got
out of the bushes and thornes, wherin you were closed:
and nowe at this houre you stromble in the faire way: you
haue had in certayne the damage of your deathe: and now
ye put in double the profite of your deathe: you are en
tryed into the campe of desirng of the woldis: and nowe
you wolde turne your backe, whan it is tyme to put your
bandes to armes. Lxxii. yere you haue foughte agaynst
fortune; and nowe you close your eyes, bycause fortune
wyll

dgyd

wyll strike you. I say it bycause that willyngly you refuse this present deth, the whiche wyll cause vs to haue your selfe passed suspect. What do you hye and myghty princer why wepe you lyke a chyld? & why sigh you as one in despayre, if you wepe because ye shal die, why did you laugh so moche in your lyfe tyme? for of moche laughynge in the lyfe time cometh moche wepyng at the deth. Wyl you do that you can not do, and not be content with that you may do. The grounde and pasture that is common, you wolde toyne to your owne, the renowme of the common welthe you applyed to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy alone you wolde make your perpetuall righte. I wylle shew you who be deed. All be deed and shall dye. And avonge all other you wolde all onely lyue. Wyll ye haue that of the goddis, that they be goddes for? That is bycause you are mortall, that they make you immortall. And you haue that for priuilege, whiche they haue by nature: I that am but symple, demaunde one thyng of you my lode, that are auncient and wylse: whiche is the greatest, & least welthe, to dye well or lyue well? To lyue welle noon man can attayne certaynly for, hungry, thirst, solitarines, persecution, p[er]il fortune, sickneses, and disfauours. This can be called no lyfe, but rather deth. If an ancient man wolde make a shewe and booste of his lyfe, fro the tyme of his birthe to the layingne in his graue, and the bodye to shew all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the harte to discouer all the strokis of fortune: I imagine that the goddes wolde haue maruayle therof, and men wolde be abashed therof, that the body conde suffre so moche, and the harte beare it. I hold the grekes wisest, for they wepe whan they childeyne are borne, and they syng whan an olde man dyeth: but the Romaynes syng at the byrthe of their chyldren, and wepe whan they dye olde. Certaynly

W to

to laughe at the deeth of them that die olde, sith they dy to
laugh: and to wepe at the birth of children, siche they are
borne to wepe, and that lyfe abyderþ the sentence of yllie:
approuethe that the deathe is good . Wyll you that
I saye one veritie to you: I haue alwayes sene, that the
couisel in the wyllest maner faileth him. Such as wold
gouerne al thinges by their opinions, of necessitie in some
or in the moste parte they do erre and sayle . O Marc my
dere lorde , wene you, that haue caused to burye soo ma-
ny, that some shulde not burye you in lykewise ? As you
haue sene the ende of their dayes, other shal se the ende of
your yeres. Therfore me semeth it were better for you to
dye, and to go your way to atteyn so moche welthe, than
to scape and to lyue in so moche myseri. If you sele dethe,
I haue no metuayle syth you are a man. But I meruayle
that you do not dissimule hit, sith you are discrete . They
that haue clere understandyng sele many thinges at their
herre, that putteth them to peyne, whiche they shewe not
outwarde, for the presumption of honour. If all the pop-
ulation that is in a heuy herte were spredē abrode in the weke
nesse by smalle greynes, no walles shulde suffysse vs to
ribbe, nor out nayles to scratche. For certaynly the deethe
is but a play, wherin the player, if he be apt, aduentureth
but lyttell to wynne moche, and they that play may se wel
that this is a wyly play, and not of strength. And that also
as well they lese that haue but a smalle carde, not fea-
rynge death, as they that with a great carde louerh longe
lyfe? What thinge is dethe but a trappe boze, wherin the
tent is closed, in the whiche is soldē all the miseries of our
lyfe? This the goddis do change vs from an olde fylthy
house, into a newe. And what other thing is the sepulchre,
but a castelle, wherin we be closed agaynst the assautes of
the lyfe? Of trouth you ought moxe to couete to take than
you

you find at your deth, then the hurt of that you shal leue in
 your lyfe. I demand of you, what is it that doth you most
 peyne in lesyng of the life : if you peyne your selfe so ; He-
 tis fabrice your wyfe, bycause you leauue her yonge : wery
 not your selfe, for she is wel thought on in Rome, so ; any
 peryll of your lyfe. And as lone as she knoweth it, I am
 in certaine she wyl not wepe moche, though you go your
 way. Than you ought not to wepe so ; leuing of her. These
 yonge damoysels maried to old men, haue euer their eies
 firyd in the deth of their husbandes. And holly fasten their
 hartes on him that they thinke to mary with agein. They
 wepe with their eies, & be glad in their hartes. And trust
 not though she be an empresse, and can not fynde an other
 emperour to be her husbande, yet she wil fynde som other.
 So ; if they be so determined, they will change their robes
 of satyn so ; a gowne of cloth. So ; I dare welle sape, they
 more desire a yonge sheparde, than an old emperour. And
 if you care so ; pour childdren, whome ye must leauue behind
 you ; I can not tel why you shulde do so. So ; if your deth
 be displeasent to them, moch moxe displeaseth them by you
 lye so longe. It is great pain to a child, without he desire
 the derthe of his father : if he be pooze it is so feare howe
 they shulde be maintained : if he be riche, than bicause he
 shall be his heire. They singe and you wepe, you ferre the
 deth & wepe because you leue your life. Do you not know,
 that after the nyght cometh the dewy mornyng : & after
 cometh the bright son : & after the son cometh a derk cloud,
 and after again cometh feyre wether, & after that cometh
 lightening & thonder : & then agein cleare aire ? Also I say,
 that after infancy cometh childhode, thā cometh youthe, &
 age after that, and so at laste cometh deth, and after deth
 feresful hope of a sure lyfe. Sir beleue me in one thyng :
 The beginning, the meane, and the ende every man hath.

U. II.

Cets

Certainly if you had ben take as the floures fro the herber
 if you had ben cut grene fro the tree, if you had ben graffed
 in primetime: if you had ben eaten in the lowernes of
 the byne: I meane if in the firsste yowthe, whan lyfe was
 at the swetest, if dethe had come and knocked at the gate,
 ye shulde haue had cause to be sorie: but as now the walles
 are weake and redy to falle, and the floure wythered,
 and the bery putrifid, the speare full of mossie, and canne
 not drawe the knyfe out of the shethe. Herin you haue de-
 sired the wold, as if you had never knownen the wold.
 Lxxii yere you haue ben prisoner in the dongeon of the bo-
 dy: and nowe the shakis or givis shulde be taken frome
 you, you complayne: you lord wold make newe of other
 newes. He that thinketh it nat sufficente to lyue. lxxii. yea-
 res in this dethe, or to dye in this lyfe, he wyll not be con-
 tent with thre score thousande.

Auguste the emperour sayde, that after that men had
 lyued. l. yeres, they ought to die, oxels cause them self to be
 slayne, by cause that vnto that tyme is the felicitie of man.
 He that lyuethe beyonde that tyme, pallethe his tyme
 in hewynes, in greuous aches, deathe of his children,
 and losse of his goodes, in impoortunitie of his chyl-
 dene in lawe, burienge of his frendes, susleyninge pro-
 cesse, payinge of dettis, and other infinite trauasles: So
 that it were better with his eies closed to abyde theym in
 his graue, than with his eies open to abyde theym in his
 lyfe dayes. Certainly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and
 he is right priuie with the goddes, that at. l. yere leaueth
 his lyfe. For al the time that he liueth after is in decaying
 and never vpryght, but rollynge, relyng, and redy to fall.
D Marc my dere lord, do you not know, that by the same
 way that lyfe gothe, cometh dethe? It is. less.yere that ye
 haue soughte the one from the other. And whan ye wente
 fro

for mid me, wher as you left your house, and wente to M
eding, where you lefte a greate pessidene; and whiche you
are returned in to Hungarie. And you nocht know, that as
soone as you were boordes to governe the erthe, insouient
de the issud out of his sepulchre to fynde your lyfe. And
if you haue honored ambassadours of the straunge kynges,
muche more ye ought to honour deathe, that cometh
to the goddes. What lordshyp can be lost in this lyfe, but
you shall fynde greser in the deathe. Sir you, not remem-
ber whā Vulcan my sonne in lawe possest me, because
he desired my goodes more than my lyfe, howe you my
lorde for loue that you had to me, gave me comfoorte and
counsell, for the deth of my solemful youth: and you said
to me, the goddes were orrell in kylyng of them that be
sone: and pitifel whan they burie them that be olde.
And also you sayde to me: Comfoorte thy selfe | Danutius: |
for if thou dydst lyue to dye, nowe than thou diest to lyue;
Wherfore ryght high and myghty prince, I say to you, as
you sayde to me: and I counsayle you as you counsayled
me: and that you gave me, I gyue you agayne. Finally
of this repynge take the besste in worth, and let the rest abyde,

Now the emperour demanded to haue in writing al that
the Secretarie had sayde cap. xi. a. 1500. b. 1500. c. 1500.

Ad 65 of the contentynge of the wylle often-
tymeis pioceedeth helthe and easse of the bodye;
the emperour was wel satisfied with the wo-
rdes of Danutius, whiche he eloquently utte-
red, and with profounde counsell, hardily and
familiarly, and in due tyme, as a good frende. Great co-
pation it is to them that wolde die, whā it is shewed them
what they ought to do. Few of them that be about the bed-

W. III.

Some

Comme obodibim of his money, somme ferre hym selfe,
 Some helde the place to be his heire, somme gasynges
 gystes, some wepe for losse of hym, somme also laugh for
 the wyrtes by his deathe; and so in this maner the poore
 patient abyngage many lokynge for theyr profyte, hath no
 body to counsel hym. we se dayly that seruantes whā they
 se the going out of the cardel of lyfe, care not for the clasing
 of ther lordes hys. And therof cometh that as soone as
 he is ded, straightway beganneh to stinche. And so I say
 that the entombing before is the beginninge of his infamy.
 All they that were there, as well the olde seruantes as the
 newe, belongyng to the emperour, capitaynes of warres
 other, were at al lytel abashed of the sayenge of Pau-
 tius, and ther all allowed his sayenge, and sayde he was
 worthyp to haue the gouernance of the empire. The good
 emperour alredyson that Pauitius spake, wept with
 teyses ffor his herte. And bytcause he was so sore gre-
 ned, he coupte not forth with gye hym an answere. At the
 laste he commanded Pauitius to gyue hym in writing al
 that he had sayde, so thentynk that he might study theron,
 for he sayd it was no reason to forget thinges so wel said.
 So all the rest of that night the Secretarie occupied him
 selfe to put in writing the same sayenge: and the next day
 he deluyered it to the emperour, whiche tooke hit and loked
 theron all the day: and kept it styl in his handes, and oft
 times redde theron. And the next nyght the emperour sente
 for the Secretarie, in open audience he said as foloweth,

CThe answere of the emperour to Pauitius. ca. xlii.

Ons glidig illike ha comyngh hit oon,

Happy was the mylke that thou suckedst in Dacie,
 But the bread þ thou diddest eate at Rome, is the lernynge
 that thou haddest in Athene, and thy bringynge þu in me
 house,

king. For in my life thou hast well serued me, and at my
death thou hast well consolpated me. I commande Com-
modus my sonne toewards the forthy good seruice. And
I pay the goddis to recompence the forthy croucel. The
reward for divers seruices a man may miske: but reward
for good councel al the goddis had never to do. The grettil
rewarde that one friend may do to another, is in a great
weighele manner to succour him with good counsell. All
maneres of the woldie are weightle, but the traunayle of
wiche is the weightlest: all be perillous, but that is moste
perillous: all ben great, but this is the gretest: al thingis
hath an ende at last by deth, sause only deth, whose ende is
unknowen. He that is hars with deth, is as he is sickle of
the sleepyng evill, haunynge a quicke understanding, & reche
knoweth no man: many thinges beinge pisseved ethyn; he
can determine uppon none, per againe I say he is a true
and faischfull frende, that in such tyme wil givynge good cou-
sello his frende. Al they that here this that I say, wil say
that it is true. But I sweare, that no man can knowe hit
perfectly, but he that is in case that I am in, ready to dyer
you. pecce hath ben the cours of my lyfe, and nowe deeth
commaundeth me to close myn eyes, & to folowe the cours
of deth. Moreouer as thou knowest not the infirmitie, so
thou approchest not to the cure and helth. The doldur is
not there as thou hast made defensives, it is not the fusu-
le where against: thou hast gauen cautere, it is not agyn
spilations that thou hast gyuen stropes, it is not ingryv-
enes þ thou hast gyuen me incision: Thou hast not wel he-
led the wounde that thou hast stitched me. I say that thou
must entre further in me to knowe perfectly myne accessse.
The sighes that procede fro the botom of my hert can not
be understanden with herte of them: the goddis alwayis
know þ thoughtes of þ herte. Also divers thingis ar in me
that

that I knowe not of my selfe, no moare than that is with
 out me. O Panutius thou accusest me that I feare death,
 To feare it greatly I deny it: but I confess to feare it as
 a man. Certaynly to denie that I feare not deathe, than I
 muste denye that I am not made of fleshe. We se that the
 Olyphant feareth the lyon, and the beate feareth the oly-
 phant; and the wollefe feareth the beare, and the shepe fea-
 rethe the wollefe, and the catte the catte, and the catte the
 dogge, and the dogge the man, and all onely they feare
 us, that they dredde to be slayne. Than if these bruite bestis
 refuse deathe, not fearing the fynghtyng with furious spi-
 rites, nor the enioyengs with the goddis: howe moche ra-
 ther than ought we to feare the deethe: So; we are in doute
 to be torn in pieces with the furties in theyr peynes, or to
 be receyued in pleasure with the goddes. Therfore I say,
 that the naturall feare of death, I haue ouer come with
 the biddell andyberties of reason. Thinkest thou Panu-
 tius, that I le not my grasse wasted, and my grapes ga-
 thered, that my house breakeith, and that I haue nothyng
 left but the stocke of the grapes, the skynne of the fleshe,
 and but one onely blaste of all my lyfe? Thou seest well
 that by the tokenes the exerciseth sene: And nettes be cast
 in the riuers, and in the parkes bulles bene chased. I say
 that the rumour of death holdethe in sauete the lyfe that
 is in me, at this houre redy armed agaynst deethe. I make
 bample with death, at this houre bataine and naked of
 lyfe: and so redy to entre into the sepulchre: at this houre
 I shall entre into the campe, where as I shall not be go-
 ted with bulles, but shall be eaten with woxmes: and fy-
 nally I shall go fro whens I can not flee. Thus I hope
 abydynge deeth. And this I say bycause thou shalst knowe
 that I knowe it, and that thou shalst fele that I sele. And
 to the entent thou lyeþ þurhgloun I will tell the a secrete
 The

secrete. The nouelties that thou hast sene in me as, in abyrryng of meate, bereuyng of slepe, liuyng alone, wetynes of company, drownyng in syghes, and pastyme in wepyng: Thou mayst well thynke, what turment ought to be in the see of my harte, whan suche tremblynges and motions of erthe and reynes are set in the erthe of my body. Whal I shew þ, wherfoze my body is in this thought, and my herte in suche trouble? The cause why I suffre deþe so greuously, is that I leauie my sonne Commodo in this lyfe in a peryllous age for him, and suspicioñ for chempire. By the floures the fruites are knownen, and the vines in burgenyng: by the colt the hors is knownen, whether he shall be meke or stubbone for labour or cariage: in the youthe the yonge man is knownen: and by the lytel that I se in my lyfe by my sonne Commodo, I feare me it will be lesse after my deth. Thou knowest not why I say thus. And I say it not without cause: for my sonne Commodo is very yonge, and yet ponter in wytte. He is of an yll inclination, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym selfe by his owne wytte and vnderstanding, as though he were a man of experiance: he knoweth but lyttelle, and careþe for noþyng. Of the tyme passed he hath no knowledge: alldnely he occupieth hym selfe with the tyme present. Finally by that I se with myn eies, and thinke in my harte, I feare me the persone of my sonne shall be in peryll, and the memozie of his fathers howse peryshe. Faustyne his mother hath fostred hym to delicately: and by a hard stony grounde he hath a great way to go. He entreth as now alone into the pathe of yowth without any guyde. I feare me he shall goo out of the ryght way, and wander in the bushes and thornes of vices. O Panuttus, harken what I say, I say it not without teates, thou seest that my son temagneth tyche, yonge, and at libertie. Ryches, youthe,

solitarines, and lybertie ben. iiiii. pestilences, that enpoyson the prince, and waste the common welthe: hit sleethe them that be a lyue, & infameth them that be deed. Belue me one thyng: dyuers graces are requisite to susteyn divers vertues. With the fairest women the brothel houses are peopled, the mooste vilaynes are made ruffians: the mooste hardye are robbers in woddes: the quickest of vnderstandynge ofte proue fooles: and the mooste subtylle becom theues. I say that such as are clothed with dyuers graces of nature, lacke the fures of acquired vertues. We may say, they hold in their hades a knyfe, wherwith they stryke and hurte theym selfe: fire on their shuldres, wherwith they bren: and a coode about their necke, wherwith they hange: daggers at their stomacke, wherwith they are slayne: thornes at theyr feete, wherwith they are pricked: a stony way afoze their eies, where they stumble, and stumblyng fall, and fallynge they lese their lyfe, andwynne dethe. The great trees of whom we haue fruite in wynter, and shadowe in sommer, first be planted the rotes fast in the entrayles of the erthe, o2 euer theyr waueringe boughes are aduentured in the wynd. Marke Panutius marke well. The man that from his youth hath set before hym the feare of the goddis, and the shame of men, is habited in vertues: he that accompanieth with them that be vertuous, mainteyneth trouth to euery man, and lyueth without pretudice of any man. Malicious fortune maye somtyme cleue the bark of the welth of suche a tree, wherthe the floure in his youthe, breake the leaues of his favour, gather the fruite of his trauaylle, breake downe a bough of his offices, & boewe downe the height of his coucell: yet so2 al the strokkes that the wynd can stricke, it can not be plucked vp by the rote. Certaynely the sonne that the father hath endewid with graces, and the sonne applieng

enge hym in bices, ought not to be borne in this woldē: & if he be borne, to be buried quicke. For the fathers sweat by day, and watche by nyght, to leue honour to theyz chil-
dren, whiche the fathers bye of the goddis with lighes, &
the mothers deluyered of them with peine, and bring the
vp with trauayle: and the chylde prouethe so, that he gy-
ueth greuous age to the father in his lyfe, and great infa-
my after his deth. I consider wel, that the prince Comode
beinge yonge and Iolde, agenist his wyl forbare bices, &
I fere me that after my deth he wyl hate vertues. I reme-
mbe diuers of his aye haue enherited the empire, whiche
were so hardy in their lyues, that they deserued to be cal-
led tyranteres after their dethes. Crāple of Denys renoun-
med tirāt of Hycill, which hirde them that coude inuente
bices, as our Rome rewardeth them þ conquerē realmes.
What gretter tiranny can be in a tyrāt, than to make most
pvise to him the that be vicious? Also I forget not þ fourre
kinges, that succeeded after great Alexāder, as Ptholome,
Anthoc², Silut², & Antigonus, whitch the grekes called
great tirantis: al that Alexāder had gote with renowmed
triūphes, they lost by their viciousnes. And in this maner
the wold þ Alexāder had deuided among them.iii. came
to the handis of mo than fourre. C. soz Antigon². set so little
by that had cost his lord Alexāder so moch, & was so light
in his age, & so bold in his realme, þ in mockery in þ stede
of a crowne of gold, he ware a gardland of Iute: & in sted
of a scepter, he bare a thyngle in his right hande: and after
that maner he wold lyt among his men, & whan he spake
to strangers. I lay shame to the yong man so to do, but I
meruaile that the sadde and wyse men of Grece suffred it.
¶ I remembre also Caligula the. iiiii. emperour of Rome
a yonge man, in whose tyme it was harde to knowe, whi-
che was the greater, eyther the disobedience of the people
¶.ii. . to their

to their lord, or the hatred that the lord bare to the people. And this yonge prince wente so farre out of the waye in his youthe, and was so farre wyde from reason in his tyzannies, that euerye man studide howe to take his lyfe from hym : & he studide to selle every man. He wroote these wordes in a table of golde : Wolde to god that all Rome hadde but one heed, to the entente that with one stroke I myght stryke it of.

CAlso rememb're Tyberie, sonne adoptiue of good Auguste, called August, bycause he augmented Rome. But this good olde p'nce dyd not so moche augment it in his lyfe, but this yonge successour destroyed it moch moze after his deathe. The hate that the Romayne people had a-gaynst Tyberie in his lyfe was ryght well shewed after his deathe. For the same day that he dyed, or whan he was clayne, the people made dyuers processions, and the sena-tours offred great gyftes in the temples, and the priestes offred gret sacrifices to their goddis, to thentent that they shulde not receyue the soule of the sayd Tiberie into their glorie : but to lende it to the furies of Hell.

CAlso I mynde Patrocle the seconde kynge of Cozyn-the, whiche enherited the realme beinge but. xvi. yere of age, and he was so vicious of his body, and so lyberall of his mouthe, that where as his father helde the realme. ix. yere, he possessed it but. xxx. dapes.

CAlso the auncient Tarquin the proude, the. viii. kynge of Rome, whiche was ryght goodly in gesture, right valyant in armes, and of a cleane bloudde : as an vnhappy prince defyled all his vertues with nougnty lyuyng : in luche wise that he converted his beautie into lechery, his power into tyzany, for the villany that he dyd to Lucrece the chaste lady of Roine : wherby he lost not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquin was banysshed for euer

out

out of Rome.

Cl rememb're truelle Nero, whiche inherited and dyed
ponge: & in him ended the memoie of the noble Cesars:
and by hym was renewed the memory of Antygones the
tyrantes. Whom thinkest thou this tirant wolde suffre to
lyue, whiche slew his owne mother? Tel me I pray the,
what harte is that of a chylde, to flee his owne mother, to
open the brestes that he sucked, to shew the bloode of her
that nourished hym in her armes, and to beholde the en-
traples, wherin he was fourmed? What thynkest thou,
that he wolde not haue done, sith he commyted suche an
yl dede? The day that Nero slew his mother, an oratour
sayd in the senate, that Agrippine his mother had deser-
ued deth for chyldyng suche a chylde in Rome. These thye
dapes that thou haste sene me so altered in my mynde, all
these thynges came before me: and I haue drawen theym
into the depenes of my harte, and disputed them. This
sonne of myn holdethe me in the gulfe of the see, betwene
the waues of feare, and the ankers of dispayze, hopynge
that he shulde be good, bycause I haue nouysshed hym
well, and fearyng that he shulde be yll, because his mo-
ther Faustine hath brought hym vpp wantonly, and the
yonge man is inclyned to yll. And as ye se a thyng made
by artifice peryshe, and a naturall thinge laste: I am in
great feare, that after my deth he wyll tourne that waye
that his mother hath chylded hym, and not as I haue no-
tysched hym. O how happy were I, if I had never a child
to leue behynde me to be emperour! Then a chyld myght
be chosen amonge chyldez of good fathers, and I shulde
not haue ben troubled with him that the goddis haue gr-
uen me. Panutius I demaunde one thyng of the, whe-
ther thou callest moste fortunate Vaspasian the naturalle
father of Domitian, or els Nero the father adoptive of

LIII,

Trajan?

Trajan: Vaspasian was good, and Nerua very good, & Domitian was of all other mooste cruelle, and Trapane the myzrount of all clemency. The regard how Vaspasian in the fortune to haue children was vnhappy, and Nerua in the myssortune to haue chyldren, was happy. I knowe not why these fathers desire to haue children, sith they ben the occasion of so moche trauayle. O Panutius, I wylle say one thing to the, as a frende to a frend (as thou knowest wel we be in this wold) I haue lyued. Ixii. yeres, in whiche tyme I haue redde many thinges, and haue herd, sene, desired, atteyned, possessed, suffred, and restid moch, and nowe at this tyme I must dye: and of al thing I shal beare nothyng away, bycause both it and I are nothing, Gret besynes the hart hath to serche for these goodes, and great trauayle to come to them: but without comparson the greatest dolour is at the houre of the deth to departe and leaue them. what greater disease can be to the body, than sodeynly to be surprised with ennemis: what perille of the see or losse of frendes can be egalle, to se a vertuous man drawne to his deathe, to leue the sweate of his face: the auctoritie of the empire, the honour of his persone, the company of his frendes, the remedye of his detours, the rewardinge of his seruantes, and to leaue it to a chylde, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power to wyl to merite it.

CIn the. ix. table of the lawes were these wordis writte: We comande and ordene, that euery father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shall disherite his sonne that is yll in euery mans opinion. Also every chylde, what so ever he be, that dishobeyeth his father, and robbeth any tyme, or hurt any wydowe, so that she blede, flee fro the bataile, or do any treason to a stranger, who so ever is foud in any of these syue cases, lette him be banyshed for ever the

Thomas
of
South
wishes
and
counts
in
the
name
of
the
King
of
England

the habitation of Rome, and caste out fro the heritage of his father.

In good sooth this lawe was good, and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinatus hit was ordeyned, and nowe by vs whiche be vnhappy, it is cleane leste and forgotten. Par-nutius without doubt I am wery to speake, and also I haue suche an impediment in my stomacke, that I wante bretche: or elles I coulde shewe the all by order, if myne understandyng fayled me not, howe manye Parthiens, Mediens, Assiriens, Caldien, Indiens, Egypcians, Hebrewes, Grekes, and Romaynes haue leste they chyl- den pooze, and myght haue leſt them ryche: and all was because they were vicious: and other chyldren that were very pooze, were leſte ryche, because they were good and vertuous. I swere to the by the immortal goddes, that whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and Rome, and that the triumphe and glorie was gyuen to me, and my sonne conſyrmed to be empetour: I wolde the Senate hadde leſte me my sonne Commodus pooze with all his vices, and that I hadde made the Senate heire & lord to the empire: and to haue chastised hym to the exaumple of all the woldē. I wyll that thou knowe, I shall carie fwe thynges with me out of this woldē intermedled, the whiche is great sorowe to my hart: The fyre is, that I haue not determined and iudged the plee and processe of the noble wydowe Duxia with the Senate, seinge that she is very pooze, and hath noo bodye to doo her Justyce: The seconde is bycause I doo not dye in Rome, to the intent that I myght cause to be cried and proclaymed euery where in Rome et I dyed, to wyte if any complayned on me: the thirde is, that wher as I dyd flee. xiiii. tyranantes that vndyd the countreye, that I hadde not as well banyshed all the Pirates that kepte the sees:

the

the fourth is, that I left my dere sonne Uerissimus dead; and the. v. that I haue leste alyne, as heire to the empire my sonne Commodus. O Panutius, the greatest happe that the goddis can giue to a man (not couetous but vertuous) is to gyue hym renoume in his lyfe, & a good heire to conserue him after his deathe. Fynally to conclude, I pray to the goddis, if I shall haue any parte with theym, that if by my sonnes offences Rome be sclaundred, and my renoume mynished, and my hous lost by his lyfe, that they wyll take away his lyfe yet or I dye.

Cx what thumperour sayde to the maysters of his sonne, and to the rulers of thempire. Cap. xliii.



Se you aunciente fathers & noble Ro-
mayns, and ryght saythfull seruantes
take peyne and sorowe for that I must
velde me to dethe, and leave this lyfe,
and treate with my sepulchre. Ye sorow
for my sorowe, ye are tourmented with
myng anguysh, & peyned for my peyne:
it is no metuaylle. For the clere vnderstandinge of the
pure blod of true and saythful frendes, is to double their
trauayles and to wepe for other: if one breste be ast moyme
for an other, moch more ought one humayne creature so-
rowe for an other. And this I say, bycause I know by the
teares of your eyes, the felyng of your hartes. And siche
that the greatest rewarde for any benefite is to know it,
and thanke the partie therof: as moche as I can, I thake
you. And if my weake thankes be not correspondent to
your pitiefull wepyng, I require the goddis after they
haue taken away my lyfe, to rewarde you for my duette.
It is greate pleasure for the familie to knowe their ma-

See: go with the goddis, and great peyne to hym to leaue
 them. So; company of many yeres is loth to leue the lufe.
 In my lufe tyme I haue done with you as I oughte to do,
 and as nowe I must do as I may. The goddis wyl take
 my soule away, Comodus my sonne the empereur, he shal
 leue my bodeye, and ye my speciall frendes my hertes. And
 soothly it is reason, that sith ye were in the lyke my hertes,
 that it be yours after my deth. And in that I wyl speake
 more particuler this night shall be our reasonynge. Nowe
 my harty frendes ye se, that I am come to the ende of my
 laste journey, and to the begynninge of my firsste journey
 with the goddis. It is reason, that syth I haue loued you
 in tyme past, that ye beleue me nowe. So; the tyme is com
 that we can demande notyng of me: noy I haue nothyng
 to offe you: noy myn eares as now can not here flateries,
 noy my harte suffre impotencies: ys ye never knewe me,
 knowe me now. I haue ben he that I am, and am he that
 hath ben, in tymes paste lyke unto you, somewhat: nowe
 ye I am but lytell, and within a lyttell whyle I shalbe
 nothyng. This daye shal ende the lyke of Marc your
 lorde, this daye shal ende the fatall desenes of Marc your lorde,
 this day shal ende the signorie of Marks your emperour,
 and this day shal ende his empereur. I haue banquysshed
 many, and nowe I am ouer come with deth. I am he that
 hath caused many to dye, and I can not as now gyue my
 lufe one day of lyke: I am he that hath entred into the
 roomes of golde, and this daye I shal be layde on a bierc
 of wodde: I am he for whome many haue songe merrily,
 and this day they wepe: I am he that hath had company
 in all reuerentes, and this day I shal be gyuen to hungry
 wormes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that with fa
 mous triumph mounted into the high capitolle, and this

day with forgetfulnes I shal discende into the sepulchre.
 I leugh with myn eyes, that was farre hyd in my heire.
 And as the goddis be fauourable to you in this woorde,
 equalle and fauourable to me in an other woorde, as my
 fleshe never toke pleasure to passe this lyfe, but my herte
 was sodaynely taken with the feare of deathe : than take
 no peyne for me, for ryther I muste see the ende of you, o
 you of me. I yelde greate thankes to the goddis, that
 they take away this old person to rest with them, and leue
 you yonge for to serue in thempire. For there is no com-
 parson for to speake of deathe to the lyfe, nor to eschewe
 the deathe at the houre therof. And yet I wyl not deny, but
 I do feare deathe, as a mortall man. Whan the lyfe passeth
 there is no prudence in a prudente, nor vertue in a vertuous,
 nor lordshyp in a lord, that can take away the feare
 of the spirite, nor peyne of the fleshe. At this tyme the
 soule and the fleshe are so combyned and so conglutinate
 to gyther, and the spirite with the bloude are so anuered,
 that the separation of the one from the other is the moost
 terrible, and the last terrible of all terribilenes. Certayne-
 ly it accordeth unto good reasone, that the soule depart
 dolorously, leauyng the fleshe unto wormes, and the bo-
 dy as eniuious to se the soule go and spote with the god-
 des. O what lytell thoughtes we take in this lyfe, vntylle
 we falle grouelynge with our eyes vpon deathe. Behelme
 me, bythe I haue passed from whens ye be, and haue ex-
 perimented that pe do se, that is the vanities of vs that
 are hayne, is so agreeable to vs, that whanne we begynne
 to lye, we pimagine that our lyfe wylle endure a holle
 woorde, and whanne it is ended, hit semeth vs to be but a
 pulle or a blaste of wynde. And bycause than sensuali-
 peyneth for sensibilitie, and the fleshe for the fleshe, ca-
 son gypded with them that be mortall tellethe me, that u
 peynethe

peyneth not with the departyng. If I haue lyued as a
whate beaste, hit is reason that I dye as a discrete manne
ought to do. I dyenge, this day shall dye all my sycknes,
hunger shall dye, colde shall dye, all my peines shall dye,
my thought shall dye, my displeasure shall dye, and eue-
rythinge that gyueth peyne and sorowe. This daye the
night shall be taken away, and the sonne shyne brighte in
the skie: This daye the ruste shall be taken fro myn eies,
and I shall see the sonne clerely: This daye the way shall
be made smothe for to goo righte: this is, the daye shall
ende the tourneie, wherin I shall not vede the staves of
fortune. I thanke the goddis immortall, that haue suf-
fered me to lyue so clerely, and soo longe a tyme. This
day I shall haue an ende of all bnhappy destynes of en-
emis fortune, and not they of me. Of trouthe is the god-
dis haue commaunded my fleshe to be hdden in the se-
pulchre, and to be as mortalle: yet if they be iuste and doo
well, they wil make my renoume to be immortal, bycause
I haue lyued wel. Than spethe I chaunge this werye life
and company of menne, for the swetenes of the goddis,
and the doubtes of fortune for this surfe lyfe, and greate
and continuall feare for perpetuall peace, and this ylle
and naughty corrupte lyfe for good renowme and glorie,
I chynke verly this shuld be none yll chaunge.

Chis nowe thre sedre and two yeres syth the erthe hathe
fallyned and fedde the erthe of my bodye: It is nowe
come that the erthe knowleage me for her sonne, and I
will also take her for my mother. Verely it is a pytiefull
mother, that wylle nowe take me into her entrayles for
ever, sythe that I haue soo longe space troden her buri-
er my leete. And yet thought that I were as I am, for to
be as she is, I am incertaine that she woldes kepe me li-
ver among her womes, tha Rome among the senatours.

Y. II.

And

And al though it be paynesfull to you, if it please the goddes to haue it thus, no man can excuse nor scape it. I shuld be right well eased, if this webbe were broken, and my possession taken in the Sepulcre. Than shulde I haue the fyrt thyng propre of myn owne, and perpetuall without any feare of lesinge therof. All thynges mortal, that mortalle folkes haue, and the enuye of them that be envious may be broken, except the deth and the sepulcre, the whiche are pruileged from engaged hongre of enuy. Ife you wel shedyngre certes from your eies, and resle hevy sighes frome the depenes of yott hartes. Soyle ye not that I shulde desyre death, sith the phisitions gyue me but thre houres of lyfe: and there are conteyned in me, iii. M. yeres of peynes, the length wherof is a cpronisme of deth. And yet though our debilitie be weake, yet so; al that our honour is so sensible, that at the houres of deth, the more that the bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the more is the herte charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the sinewes buntie them from the bones of the body, than newlly they lye agayne a soore knotte to the herte. Nowe leste vs leave spekyng of that toward the particulaire my selfe, and speake we in generale of that is conueniente to a yonge Prince, and to you that are his tutours and maysterts.

CYe se here my son Comodus only p[ri]nce and heire, a bydynge so; the heritage of thempire: neyther so; being good, that he meriteh praise, nor so; being vil represe. for he hath taken his naturaltie of the goddes, and his nature among you. Byuers tynes whan he was a chylde, ye toke hym in your armes, to shentent that nowe he is a man, ye shulde sette him in your heries. Bythero he hath taken you for his maysterts: and nowe at this tym[e], he muste repute you as his fathers. And whyles I spued ye helde

helde hym for your prince in nouyslyng hym, for your emperour in setuynge hym, and as your parent in helping hym, and as your sonne in teachyng hym. Bythereto ye onely helde hym charge, as fathur, moþer, and maysters: he is nowe as a newe shyppe put this daye in to the right see, sleyng to the botomles swolowe, where as the sayles of prosperitie wyll make hym fall, and the rockes of un-
happynes wyll drowne hym. Than amonge so many vn-
fortunate wyndes and vnstable waters, there is greatt
necessite of good oores. Surely I am very soray for them-
pere, and haue great compassion of this yonge prince, and
suche as wolde his welthe, shall moxe bewaylle his lyfe
than my dethe. For scappyng fro the see I se my selfe at a
good sure poþte, and vpon mayne lande, and leauyng hym
the sweate and trauaple. For as yet he knoweth not haw
to aduenture to sayle on the see: nor yet knoweth not whe-
ther he shal abyde the age of my long experiance, nor whe-
ther he shall be a reasonable emperour or no. But whatte
shall sorowfull Rome do, whan it hath nouylshed a good
prince, and that fatall desernes maketh an ende of hym;
or that by enuy of them that be þill he is slayne: or the cru-
eltie of the goddis taketh hym away: or that the body by
his owne propre handes be lyfte vp in suche wylle, that in
therperiment of princes, al the lise tyme parteth in beway-
lyng of the youthe of yonge princis, and the grauitie of
theyr auncient princis passed. O if these princis beleued
at the beginnyng of theyr empire, other kinges that are
safpled in the wþ尔de, howe they be taught whan it is so im-
portable for one man without charge to rule so many re-
gnis, and he doinge nothyng but take theyr goodes,
robbe hym of his renoume, banishe theyr persons fro hym,
and he to ende his lyfe, and his subiectes augmente theyr
soþowes: and siche he is but one, he can duo no moxe than
one,

one, though dypuers hope that he doth for all. Regarde in what my sauenture a prince lyueth, whan the least villayn in Italy thinketh, that al only for hym and on hym alone the prince setteth his eyes. And sith the wrold is so changeable, and the people so vncly, the day that a prince is crowned and exalted with a sceptre ryall, the same daye he submitteth his goodis to the couetous, & all his estate to the semblaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddis shew they power. For al the vnderstandinges are tacked to one free wyll. The semynge of all they condemne, and allowe but one. They giue the domination to one, and the subiectiōn to many. To one they gyue the chastrisement of all, & not all to the chastrisement of one. For the taste of many, they giue meate but to one: the fauour wherof is swete to some, and solwe to other: to some remayneth the bone, and to some the fleshe: at the last some be downed, other be hyndred, & at the end al haue an ende. I wold demand of you that be most familiar, what is the crowne of thempire, or the sceptre of gold, or the coler of perles or p̄cious stones, or rubes of Alexander, or vessel of Corinth, or chariottes of triuhip, or what offices of Consules or dictatōres are desired in change of their rest: for it is certaine, they can not attayn to the one, without lesing of the other. And this is the cause þ there be pl mariners, & to hardy plottes, for they sle fro the see to the lande, & fro the land to the see. One thing I wil say, þ is agenſt my ſelf: every man hateth warre, & no man ſeketh for peace. Al ſowle for one that is angred, and none is cōtent to appeace, al wold comande, but none wil be comauanded. This hath ben in the wrold paſſed, & now at this preſent tyme men be ſo light, þ they rather choſe to comand with peril, than to obey with rest. Seinge that my dares are diuiniſhed, & my ſickenes Augmented, ſuſpecting þā that I ſe now, whan I retur ned

ned fro the warre of Sycil, I determinyd to make my testament, the whiche ye may se here: Open and beholde it, and therby pe shall se, howe I leauue you to be maysters of my son, yet in loue and fidelite ye be to gyther all as one. Great peryll the prince is in, and the common welth in an ill aduenture, where as be many intentions amounghe the gouernours. Certaynly the princis are gloriouſ, and the people well fortunate, and the ſenate happy, whan all agree in one councell, and that the counſaylers be ancient, and many of them, and all their intētions agree vpon one thinge. Whan this was in Rome, it was feared and dyed of tirantes, hauinge their conſultations approued with iii. C. barons. And though their reaſons were diuers, yet their willes and intētis were all one foꝝ the comon welth. I deſire and coniure you by the goddes, that ye be all frēd in conuerſation, and conformable in councell. All the weake debilites in a prince may be ſufferid, except þl couſel: and all defautes of counſaillores are tollerable, excepte thay ſtrete. Whā the ſcreting worm called a mothe, entreth amounghe them, it cauſeth perille in Justice, dishonour to the prince, ſclaundre in the comons, and paſſialite in the ſuperiours. The counſayler that hath his minde ouercom with ire, and his hearte occupied with enuy, and his woydes outragious to a good man, it is reſon that he loſe the fauour of the goddes, his priuittie with the prince, and the credence of the people. foꝝ he preſummeth to offend the goddes with þl intention, to ſerue the prince with þl ſcouſel, and to offend the common welth with his ambition. O howe ignorant are these princis, that take heede of ſuch herbes & venoms that myghe poſon them in their meaſte, and care not foꝝ the poſon that they of theyr priuile couſayle do gyue them! Doubtles there is no coparison, for the herbes and poſons can be giuen but on one daye:

bus

but the venyme of yll counseyl is giuen every houre. Venyme is defended by the horne of an unicorne, by tryache, and otherwyse by vomites: but the poyson of yll councell hath no remedy, and lesse defensures. And finally I saye, that the venym gyuen by an enmy can but flee one empator in Rome, but the popson gyuen by hym that is moche pnytie to euyll councell, fleeth the temperour, and distroyeth the common welthe. And where as every vertuous prince setteth more by perpetual renoume than this fallible lyfe, ye beinge gouernours of thempire, and maystres to my sonne, they that owe hym yll wyll haue not so moch power ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his renoume. Therfore if he be awaked by his ennies straungers, moche rather he ought to be awaked amonge his domesticall frendes. One thinge I commaunde as to my seruantes, and I desyre you as my frendes, that ye shewe not your selfe so priuy openly, as ye be in secrete: to thentent that some semme not as natural sonnes, and other as hired seruantes. He that is vertuous, oughte to haue great regarde to the pnytie of his lordre secretyly, and to be of meke conuersation with every man openly, els his pnytie wyll not lōge endure, and the hate of the prince with the people wyl increace. Ostentymes I haue redde of our predecessours, and I haue sene it in the present Romaynes, whan many holde with one, that one holdeth but lyttell with dyuers, and lesse with many, the whiche keþeth theri willes as far of, as the persons be nigh. And sith the ylnes of the tyme, and unstabilitenes of fortune never leauethe any thyng in one case, but all is as in maner of a dreme: the most sure purchase is to flee fro peril, for then wha the princes haue passed theyr pleasures entremedled in trauayles, they sacre the so many and finde not one. Therof cometh that one present so feare wyll withdrawe hym, and an other out of fauour

faour and absente wyl not come. I wyll shewe you one
thyng, the whiche you shal alway put in my sonnes me-
morie: They that in our trauayles haue determyned of a
longe seson to apply them, we ought to wynne theyz good
willes. The wily labourer in one yere laboureth to gette
comes together, and in an other yere he soweth and gade-
seth. Be not to p[re]sumptuous, for the p[re]sumption of an
aunciet prince, fordoth the auctoritis of the yonge prynce:
per h[oc] all this dispayre no[n] rebuke him not to moche: for
the lacke of maners in the state of a lord engendreth vn-
shamefastnes in him, and boldenes to the servant. I haue
leste in my testament the princ Comodus for your sonne,
and you for his fathers. But I wyl and commande, that
euery man knowlege him to be their lord, and to be at his
commaundemente. And ye my other seruantes and subie-
tes to be in his obedience, and in al his hygh besinesses to
be well guyded as his frendes and louers. Justice ought
to be sene to, by wyse oratours, accordyng to the opinion
of you that be his gouernours. And alwaye the determy-
nation to be done by the prynce, whiche is lord of al. One
council I wyll gyue you (and if you fynde it yl, blame me
afoxe the goddes) wherby the empire of my sonne shalbe
stable and permanent in Rome, and your priuete sure in
his hous, if your counselles be moued by reason, and his
wyll ruled by your counsels. I desyre soore that ye be not
couetous: and therfore I haue gyuen you dyuers gyftes
and thankes in my lyfe, to take couetousnes from you a-
forsy my dethe. It were a mostrous thing and verye dred-
full, that suche as ought to refrayne couetise fro straun-
gers, to haue theyz owne handes open for theyz owne pro-
prietures. The vertuous priue men, ought not to do all
theyl that they may, no[n] to desyre all that they may atteyn
unto, to the intente that the princ gyue theym soo moche

goodes for the profitte of their houses, as peyne and enuy
of the people to their persons. And as in meane thynges
men scape best in a meane see, soner than in great carra-
iges in the wawes of the rovinge and impituous sees: in
lykewise suche as be in meane estate among them that be
but meanly envious, lyue moxe surely, than suche as are
sette in high estate and plauitie beinge tyche, to be passy-
oned amoung enemis, that disdaynfully wold put them
vnder. It is a notable rule amoung wise men, and an in-
fallible experiance amoung them that be good, & I thinke
that by hertinge therof the yll shall knowlege it: The glo-
rie of one amoung great men maketh stysle, suspition in
them that be egal, and enuy amoung them that be meane.
One thinge, that they that gouerne well, ought to haue,
is liberalitie. The lesse ye be couetous, the moxe ye shalbe
lyberal. For with the rage of couetousnes the right of Ju-
stice is mynished. It is longe tyme since I determinyd to
gyue you the gouernynge of thempire, and the nourishing,
of my sonne. And to haue prouyded to haue gyuen you
largely of my goodes, to put the couetynge of other mens
goodes from you. I warrant you one thing: if couetous-
nes be amoung you, and be enuted of your neyghbours,
ye shall lyue in peyne, and your hartes shalt be peyned
with other mens besinesses, and your mindes shalbe euer
in suspect. Than shal ye folow the Justice of other, where-
as ye shal se your owne pp're welth. One couisel fynally I
wyl gyue you, whiche I haue take alway my selfe, Neuer
commynyt your honours to the myshappes of fortune: nor
neuer ofre your selfe to perill with hope of remedy. For
suspicitous fortune kepereth always her gates wyde open
for peril, and her walles ben high, & her wyckettes narow
to finde any remedy. And bycause I fele my selfe soye tra-
uyled, I pray you suffre me to rest a lyttel,

Howe

How shemperour at the houre of his death, sent for his sonne, and declared to him, who shulde goe to gouerne the Empire. cap. xiij.



Hus a great parte of the night passed, and the day began to b^eake, and the lise of this good emperour began faste to draue to an ende; yet soz all that he leste not the remembrance of such thynges as sholde be ordered after his death.

There were that tyme in the warre with him diuers right excellent men senatours of Rome: and in al thinges he shewd him self right wise, & specially he wold never haue any vicious persone in his howse. He had euer in his company. i. gentylmen knyghtes, & in eche of them he myght haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Ofte tymes this good emperour wolde say, that princis lyued moze surely with the gadryng to them men of good lyving & conuersation, tha with treure of money stufed in they; chestes. Unhappy is þ prince, that estemeth hym selfe happy to haue his coffres ful of treure, and his councell full of men of yl lyving. These malicious and yll men make princis poore: and a perkyte man suffiseth to make a holle realme ryche. Surely this emperour sayde well. Soz we do se daily, that what the father hath gotten in fiftye yeres, the son lefeth in halfe a yere. Than chusinge among many a fewe, and of fewe to take the best, this emperour appoyncted out. vi. notable barons: Thre of thē to be maisters of his son, & iii. to be gouernors of thempire. One was called Martina, whiche after was emperour: an other was called Pompeiano, husbād to his daughter, as sure in cōcēll as he was aged in yeres: The. iii. Gneo Patrocle of the ancient stocke of the Pompeies, whiche was no lesse clene in this liuing than his heates were white: The. iii. was called Andrisco

Z. ii. whē

which in goodlynes of his gesture, hightnes of body, her
tue of courage, and wyledom in conscience, none was
egalle to him in Rome : The. v. was named Bononius,
whiche at that tyme was consule, and in the aunciente la-
wes very experte: The last was called Iuan Varius the
good, and he was called the good, bycause that in. he were
neuer man saue hym do any ylle workes, nor harde hym
speake an ydel worde, nor do any thinge but it was profit-
able to the common welthe. Though in case they were al-
egall in gouernyng: yet I say these laste thre were princi-
pall. For Iuan Varius particularly was left to be chief
capitayne of the armpe, and to hym was deluytered all the
treasure, and the testament was put into his handes: and
with soze weping the emperour recommended to hym the
prince his sonne. Than whan the peine of his sicknes en-
creased, and that he loked for the houre of his deeth, he com-
maunded to awake his sonne Comodus, whiche without
any care was faste aslepe, and whan he was broughte in-
to the presence of his father, it was greatt pittie to see the
eten of the olde emperour sooze discoloured with wepyng,
and the eies of the sonne almoste closed with slepyng: the
sonne was wakynge with small thoughte, and the father
coude not slepe for great thoughte and peyne. And whan
he was in his presence, seing the lyttell care that the sonne
take for the deethe of his father, and considering the great
desire of the father for the good lyfe of his sonne, it moued
to pittie the hartes of all the great lordes that were there,
no lesse to leaue the company of the good olde man, than
the annoyance of the dealynge of the yonge prince: Than
the emperour sayde to his sonne these wordes.

Cwhat the emperour sayde to his sonne at the
houre of his deeth. Cap. xlvi.

Unto



To thy maysters & my gouernours I have shewed howe they shall councel the: and now my sonne at this houre I say to the , how they (though they be but a fewe) all for the alone shal governe : and it is not to be taken in smal estimation. The mooste easyeſt thinge in the wozlde is to giue councel to an other : and the mooste hardest and hieſte thinge is a man to take it for him ſelue. There is none ſo ſimple a man but he may giue good councel, though there be no nede. And there is none ſo wyſe that wil refufe counſell in tyme of neceſſitie. I ſe one thinge that all take counſelle for all, and at the laſt take it for hym ſelue . Sonne I thiſke accoſdynge to my heup fatalle deſtenies, and thyn p̄ſtumones, that one thinge ſhall not proſite the, that is, if the lytell goodnes that thou haſt done was for feare of me in my lyfe, that thou wylte doo leſſe whan thou haſte forgiotten my deſthe. I do moze nowe for to ſatisfie my deſire and the comon welthe, than for any hope that I haue of the amendment of thy lyfe. There is not a woorle complaynt, than that a man holdeth of him ſelue. If thou my ſonne be yl, Rome wyl complayne to the goddis, that they haue giuen the ſo yll inclinations : They wyl complayne of fauſtine thy mother, that hath brought the vp ſo wan-tonly : and they wylle complayne on thy ſelue, that thou doſte not reſtrayne the from vices: and they ſhall not complayne of thyn old father, that haſte gyuen the ſo manye good counſelles. I am in certayne, thou haſt not ſo great dolour to ſee the ende of thiſ nyghte, and the ende of my lyfe, as thou haſt pleasure to ſe the day that thou ſhalt be emperour : and I haue no meruayle: for where as ſenſuallitie reigndeth, reaſon is put alſide. Dwyers thinges are beleued bycauſe they are not knowē certainly. O how ma-ny thinges of trouthe ben there, that if they were knownen

Z. iii. truely

truly shulde be leste. But we ben so doubtful in every thing, and go about our busyness so variably and inconsistently, that sometyme our spritis breake the purpos, and an other tyme they rydde vs not of troublie nor hyndrance. I say we be so swiste to do yll, that sometyme we lese by a carde of the mooste: and to do wel we be so dul, þ we lese by a card of the leste: & at the last we do nothinges but lese. Sonne I wyl aduertise the by wordes, that I haue knownen in. Ixit. yere by longe experiance: and sythe thou arte my sonne and yonge, it is reson that thou beleue hym that is thy old fathet. As we princis are regard of all men, and regarde al men, and are regarded of al oþer, this day thou doste enherite thempire of the worlde and the courte of Rome. I knowe well there be inowen in the court of princis, that know nothinge what is to make them selfe of worthynes, and to maynteyn them self amog so many trumperies as are treated in the houses of princis. I lette the to witte, that in the court is aunciente paccialties, presente discention, fearefull vnderstandynges, euidente wittenesses, entrayles of serpentes, tongues of scorpions, many detractours, and fewe that seke peace: and where as al men shulde harken to the comon boyce, every man sercheth his owne proufite. Every manne sheweth a good pretence, and all are occupied in yll workes: In suche wise, that some by auarice lese their good faine, and some prodigally spende and waste all their goodes. What shulde I saye more? In the courte every day the lordes chaunge and alter the lawes, awake stryfes, and reysse noyses, abate noblenes, exalte the vnworþy, banysh the innocetes, and honour theues, loue flatterers, and dispraise theym the whiche be vertuous, they embrase delites, and treade vertue vnder therþ fete: they wepe for them that be ylle, and laughe to scoune, theym that be good, and final-
 ly eþe they

[They take all lyghtnes for their mother, and vertue for
theyr stepmother. And my sonne I saye moxe unto the,
The courte, the whiche thou shalte inheryte this daye, is
nothinge but a shoppes with waares, and a howse of ba-
taboundes, wherin someselle byle and corrupte thynges,
and other bye lyes, some haue credence, and somme haue
knowme, some haue goodes, and some haue lyuing, and
al to gither is but losse of tyme: & that worst of all is, they
will not beleue the poyson therof, tyl it be at their hartes,
they are so folyshe and sturdy. Rome hath verye hye wal-
les, and the vertues therof is very lowe: Rome vaunteth
it selfe to be very stronge in nombre of inhabitants, and
afterwarde Rome shal wepe that there is moxe people thā
vertue, and vices are not accompted. In a moneth a man
micht recken all the stones of the proude edifices, but in
a. M. yeres he myght not comprise the malyces of his yll
wistomes. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that in
the yeres I repaired all that was decayed in Rome, and
in thirty yere I coude not refourme one quarter therof to
good lyuinge. Good sonne beleue me, the great cities ful
of good inhabitantes ought to be praysed, & not the great
edifices. Our predecessorours haue triumphed on straun-
gers as weake and feble: and nowe they maye triumphe
on vs also, as menne that be moxe vanquished with
vyses than any of the other. By the mightines and prouwel-
les of our predecessorours, we that be nowe are greattely
honoured and exalted: and by the smalle estimation of vs
that be now, they that come after vs shall be greatly asha-
med. Of a very trouth it is a great shame to saye, and no
lesse infamy to doo, that the goodnes and trauayle of the
ancientes shulde now be turned and conuerted to folies
and presumption. My son loke well on thy selfe, that the
reyne of thy youthe, and libertie of the empire cause the
not

not to commytle byce. He is not called onely free, that is
free borne, but he that dyeth within the same. O how we-
are the sclaues borne, that after their deth are free by their
goodnes : & how many haue died sclaues by theyr nough-
tynes, that were borne free : There is fredome where no-
blenes abydeth. The prowes of thy persone shal gyue the
more hardines and libertie than thauctorite of thempire.
It is a generall rule, that every vertuous man of necessi-
tie is to be holden hardye : and euery vicious man of ne-
cessitie is to be reputed a cowarde. Howe boldely they be
chastised that be noted with any vice, and coldely they be
chastised that deserue chastisement. Let the pryncipe be in a
certayn, that the loue of his people, and the lyberte of his
offise, hathe not wherwith to vpholde hym in armes spred
aboyde on the erth, without the dyuers vertues assembled
in his persone.

Certainlyl Octavius Cesar subdewed mo nacions by
the renoume of his vertues, than dydde Gatus his vncle
with his armys of many men. All the woldre ioy of a ver-
tuous pryncipe : & it semeth that all the woldre riseth agenst
a vicious pryncipe. Vertue is a stronge castel, and can never
be wonne : it is a ryter where nedeth no rowing, a se that
moueth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that ne-
uer hath ende, an armys never ouercome, a burden that ne-
ver wertieth, a spie that euer retourneth, a sygne that ne-
ver deceyued, a playn waye that never faylethe, a srope
that healeth forthwith : and a renoume that never peris-
meth. O my sonne if thou knewest what thinge it is to be
good, and what a man thou shuldest be if thou were ver-
tuous, thou woldest doo seruice to the goddes, good re-
noume to thy selfe, pleasure to thy frenedes and engendre
loue of straungers, and finally all the woldre shulde ser-
and loue the,

Creinemembre, that in the boke of yeres, of the battaylle
of Carentyne, I founde, that the renowned Pyxthus
lynge of the Cypriothiens bare in a tyng grauen these
wordes: To a vertuous man is but a smal rewarde to be
tyme of al the erthe: and it is but a small chastelemente to
take a vicious mans lyfe fro him.

Truely it was a worthy sentence of such a p^rince. What
thinge is it, be it never so difficile, begonne by a vertuous
man, but there is hope to haue a good ende therof. Soth-
y I haue sene in dyuers parties of myn empyre, dyuerse
men very verke of good fame, very lowe in goodes, and
unknowen of their kynne and bloud: vndertake so greate
thynges, that to my semynge was a fearefull audacitie to
begynne: And yet by the winges of vertue all onelye they
haue had good renoume at the last. By the immortall god-
des, and as god Jupiter byynge me in his mancion, and
gabyshe the in all that is myne, There were ones a gar-
dyner and a potter, whiche dwelled in Rome, And they
onely by their vertues were cause to putte oute tenne by-
tious senatours of the senate, and the fy^st occasion was
for makynge a hedge of thorne, and a potte whiche they
wolde not pay them for the workemanshapp and labour.
I tell it the my sonne, bycause that vyce maketh the bolde
person thoughtefull: and vertue causeth hym that is in
thought to take strength and boldenes. I was well ware
of two thinges in my lyfe: not to pleade agaynst the clere-
nes of justice, nor to take part agaynst a vertuous person:
For with vertue god susteyneth vs, and with Justice the
people are gouerned.

COf other more particular councelles giuen by
the emperor to his son.ca.xlv.

A.S.

Rowe


None to come to thinges more particular. Se-
 inge sonne that thou arte yonge, and that na-
 ture can not denye the : And as in all difficile
 thinges ripe councell is necessarie, no lesse to
 comfort thestate of our lyving we desire some
 recreations . For thy youth I leue y with gret lordes chil-
 dren, with whom thou mayste passe the tyme: And to teche
 the I leue olde Romayns that haue nourished the, and ser-
 ued me, of whome thou shalt take councel. The inuention
 of interludes of theaters, to fyshe in pôdes, to hunt wild
 beastes, to course in the feldes, to huake for byrdes, and to
 exercys dedes of armes are the thynges that thy youthe
 desirereth. And youth with youth ought to kepe compayne
 in dovskyng the same: But beholde my son, that in ordering
 of armes, to applie the warres, to pursue victories, to ac-
 cepte truce, to confirme peace, to reysle tributes, to make
 lawes, to promote some, and dismisse other, to chastise the
 yll, and recompence the good : for councel in all these thin-
 ges that be so chargeable, they that be of clere mynde, re-
 dy broken and trauayled of their bodyes, and white hered
 ought to be take. And sith thou art yôge & lusty of body, re-
 toyce & spoȝt with them that be yonge: and whan thou art
 emperour, in thy secreteis take couicell of them that be old.
 Beware my sonne of all extremities . For as yll maye the
 prince be vnder the colour of grauptie to be ruled by the
 auncient persons, as vnder colour of pastime to kepe co-
 panye with yonge folkes . It is no generall rule, that all
 yonge persons shall always be yonge and lyght, nor that
 all olde persons shulde be always wise . I am in suretie of
 one thyng, that if the yonge man be borne with folye, the
 olde man lyueth & dieth with couetise . Therfore my sonne
 beware, be not extreme in extremities . For the yong peo-
 ple wyll corrupt the with their lyghtnes, and olde folkes
 wyll

wyll depypue thy mynde with their couteousnes . What thing can be more monstrosous than a prince that coman-
deth euery man, to be commaunded of one ? Sothely the
gouernyng of diuers can not be gouerned well by the o-
pinion of one alone . Thā the price that gouerneth many,
ought to haue the intention and opinion of dyuers .

In the annales of the Pompeyens, I founde a lyttell
boke of remembrance, the whiche the great Pompeie bare
alway with hym : wherin were diuers good councels and
advertisements, the whiche were giuen in diuers parties
of the worlde : Amonge the whiche I founde these wo-
des : He that gouerneth the common welthe, and putteth
the gouernance to them that are old, sheweth hym selfe un-
able : and he that trusteth in youth, is lyghte : and he that
gouerneth by him selfe alone, is hardy and bolde : and he
that gouerneth by him selfe and other, is wise . These were
notable wodes . Than my sonne determinye the to take
counsaylle, and specially in hyghe thynges , and difficile
matters: and otherwyse lette theym not be determinyd .
For whan the counsaylle is of dyuers taken , than if any
faute be, it shall be deuided amonoge them al . Though the
determinynation myght be done by a fewe, yet take councel
of dyuers . Among al thy welches, here the common coun-
selle . **F**or one wyll shewe the all the inconuenience, an no-
ther the perylle, an other the domage, an other the prou-
syte, and an nother the remedye . And sette as well thyne
nes vpon the inconueniences that they laye , as vpon
the remedy that they offre . Whan thou begynneste any
harde mattier, esteme as welle the smalle domages that
maye befall afore, and stoppe them, as to remedy the great
mysfortunes that come after . Of trouthe the stronge and
myghty shyppe ofte tymes for a smalle takynge hede of
the pylotte, is sounken and dynowned in a lyttelle water :

A. li. and

and an other shyppe not so stronge, with wylle diligence is
saued in the gulfe of the see. Be not annoyed to take cou-
cel in smal matters every houre. For many thinges forth-
with requirereth to be loked to, and in abyding for counce-
ll endomageth. And that þ thou canst dispatche by thyne
owne auctoritie without damage of the cōmon welthe, put
it not to any other person. For sith thy seruice all only de-
pendeth of thyn, the rewarde dependeth of the alone.

CIn the pere. vi. C. xxx. of the foundation of Rome, af-
ter the cruell warres done against the kynge of Numedie,
the day that Marius triumphed, without putting of any
of the riches that he brought, into the cōmon treasure, he
deuyded it to his men of warre. And whan he was ther-
fore accused, and asked why he toke not firsche the opinion
of the senate: He aunswerved and sayde: Wythe they toke
not the opinion of other to do me seruice, it were no reson
that I shoulde take councelle of other to rewarde and re-
compence them.

Con yet I wyl aduertise þ of other thynges. Peradi-
uenture som wyl gyue the counsell er thou demande it: &
in that case kepe this generall rule: neuer abide the secode
council of a man, if he haue giuen the councell before in
the preuidice of an other. For he offreth his wordes in thy
seruice to bryng the besynes to his owne profyte. O my
sonne, there are many thinges to knowe a man. Ev. pere
I haue ben senatour, consule, censure, capitaine, and tri-
bune: and xviij. yeres I haue ben emperour of Rome, and
diuers haue spoken to me in preuidice of other, and many
mo for their owne profitte, and none haue spoken cleerly to
me for the profitte of other, nor for my seruice. Great com-
passion ought to be taken of þincis: for every man folo-
weth them for their owne profitte, & none for loue and ser-
vice. One councell I toke for my selfe all the whyle that
I haue

I haue gouerned in Rome: I neuer kepte manne in my hous after that I knewe hym hatfull agaynst the common welthe.

Con the pere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. ltr. of the Olympiade. C. lxviii. Lucullus Patricius, great frende to Sylla, goyng to the warre of Mithridates, It chaunced that in Tygoano a citie of Caldiens, he found a plate of copre or brasse vpon the kynges gatis, wherin were certayne letters, whiche they sayd were grauen there by the commandement of Alexander the great, The letters were in Caldee, conteynynge these sentences, That p;ince is not wyse, that wyl holde his lyfe in peryll: and wyl not asseure his lyfe and state with the loue of al me: That p;ince is not vertuous, that in giuing moche to one person, wil lech all other to haue but lyttell: That p;ince is not iuste, that wyl satysfie moche the couetise of one person, than to the voices of al men: That p;ince is a fole, that disppseth the councell of all other, and all onely trusteth vpon the opinion of one: And finally the p;ince is to holde and haue, that for the loue of one, wyl be hated of al other. These were wordes of eternall memory. And in dede these p;rinces shulde haue this always in theyz presence. Sonne yet I shall say moche to the. This Lucullus Patrici^o brought into the Senate all the treasure that he hadde , and this plate with the sayde wordes theron, to thentent that they shoulde chuse the one and leaue the other . And the senate refused all the treasour, and toke the plate with the counselfles written theron.

Cof dyuers and particuler recommendations,
whiche the emperor commaunded his
sonne. Cap. xviii.

Aa. iii.

I haue

Hauē shewed lyke a fater, the thyngē that
 toucheth thy welth: Nowe I wyll shew the
 what thou oughtest to do after my dethē for
 my seruice. Those thynges that I haue lo-
 ued in my lyfe, if thou wylte be sonne to thy
 fater, esteme them after my dethē. Fyrste my sonne I re-
 comende to the, the worshypynge of the temples, and
 the reuerence of the priestes, with the honour to the god-
 dis. So longe shall the honour of the Romayns laste, as
 they perseuer in the seruice of the goddis. The realme of
 the Carthaginens perlyshed not bycause they were not so
 riche or more cowardes than the Romayns: but bycause
 they loued their tresors to moche, & were but yll worshyp-
 pers and louers of the temples. My sonne I recommende
 to the Helia thy stepmother, & remembre that though he she
 be not thyn owne mother, yet she is my wyfe: and on the
 peyne of my cursyng suffre not that she be yl intreated. For
 the domage that she shuld suffre by thy cosent, shuld gyue
 euidence of the small thought that thou takest of my deth,
 which shulde be an iniury to thy life. I haue left to her the
 tributes and reuenues of Hostie, for to mayntayne her de-
 gre: and the gardens of Vulcan, which I caused to make
 for her recreatiō. And if thou take it fro her, thou shewesse
 thyn ylnesse. And to suffre her to enioye it, I commaunde
 the by thyn obedience, and to shewe her thy bountie and
 largesse. Remembre she is a Romain, yong, and a widow,
 of the hous of my lord Traian, and howe she is thy mo-
 ther adoptive, & my naturall wyfe: wherloze I leue her un-
 der thy recommendation. Also I comyt to the thy bretherne
 in law: & thy sisters my doughters I leue them al maried
 not with strāge kinges, but with the natural inhabitātes
 and citelins of Rome. They dwelle al within the walles of
 Rome, where as they may do the seruice, and thou mayst
 do them

do the good. Son intrete them in suche wise, that though their good father be dead, yet let them haue fauour. And though they se their brother emperour of Rome, yet let the not be defouled. Womē be of a ryght tēder condition, they wyll complayne for a smalle cause, and for lesse they wylle rise vp in pryde, thou oughtest to conserue them after my deeth, as I haue done in my life. For other wise their conuersation shulde be sekyll to the people, and importunate to the. Also I comit to the Lipula thy sister, that is amōge the virgins Vestales, Thynke that she is doughter of thy mother Faustin, whiche I haue greatly loued in my lyfe, & vnto the houre of my death I haue lamēted hers. Every yere I gaue to thy sister ii. M. sexters for her necessities: She had ben as well maried as the other, if she had not ſe brent in the visage: whiche was esteemed of every man an pladuenture, and specially of her mother that wept alway for her. But I eſteine that ylle aduenture a good fortune. For if ſhe had not ben brent in the face with fire, ſhe had in the wozlde as touchyng her renoume be brent with diuers tonges. Son I ſwere to the, y for the ſeruice of the goddes, & the fame of men, ſhe is moze ſurer with the virgins in the temple, than though ſhe were in the ſenate with the ſenatours. I deme that at the ende of the iourney ſhe shall finde her ſelue better at eale closed and locked in, thā thou with all thy libertie. In the prouince of Lucany, I haue leſte for her the. ii. M. sexters: I wyll not that thou take them fro her. Also I comytle Druzia the wyddowe to the, whiche hath layd a gret proces ageiſt the ſenate, because þ by motiōs afore paſſed her husbād was banished: I haue great compassion of her: for it is thre monethes ſiue ſhe put in her demaunde: and bycause of my great warres I coude not declare her iufiſce. Sonne thou ſhalte fynde hit trewe, that in xxxv yere, that I haue gouerned Rome, there

there was never widowe that helde her processe before me
 passinge. viii. dayes. Take compassion of suche. For wo-
 mens necessities are ryghte peryllous, and at the laste yf
 their besynes be longe in hande, they recouer not so moche
 of theyr goodes, as they lese in theyr renowme. Also haue
 compassion of poore men, and the goddis shall rewarde
 the with great tyches. Also I commytte to the my auncient
 seruantes, to whom my longe yeres and cruel warres,
 my often necessities, the displeasure of my bodye, and my
 longe sycknesses hath ben ryght paynfull. For they as
 true seruantes to gyue me lyfe haue taken peyne vnto the
 deathe. It is reason that syth I haue taken theyr deth, þ
 they enheryte parte of my lyfe. One thing I holde for cer-
 tayne, In case that my bodye abyde in the sepulchre with
 wormes, yet I shal alwayes before the goddis haue re-
 membrance of them. In this doyngē thou shalt doo as a
 good childe, to satisfie them that haue serued thy father.
 Take hede my son, every prince doinge Justice acquireth
 ennemys in the execution therof. And this is done by the
 that are mooste nere to hym. For the moxe priute they are
 with the prince, the moxe hatefull they are to the people.
 And though every man loueth Justice in generall, yet they
 all hate the execution therof in particular. Whan a iuste
 prince is deade, the people take vengeance of the vniuste
 seruantes. When thou were a chylde, my seruantis noy-
 shed the, to the entent that thou shuldest susteyne them in
 their age. Surely it were greate shame to the empire, an
 offence to the goddes, an iniurie to me, and an vngentyl-
 nes of the, that thou haste founde them. xviii. yeres with
 theyr armes abrode to halse the, that they shulde finde one
 day thy gates shet agaist the. These thinges I comit to þ
 pticularly, kepe them alway in memorie. And syth þ I re-
 membre the at my deth, consider how I loued the in my life.

Df

¶ Of the laste wordes that thumperour spake to his sonne, & of a table that he gaue hym. Ca. xlviij.

WHAN the emperour had ended his sayde recom-
mendacions, the daye began to springe, and
his eie stringes began to breke, and his tonge
faultered, and his handes shoke. Thā the sayd
happy emperour, felynge that weakenes be-
gan soze to drawe about his herte, he commanded Panu-
tius to go into his study, and to bring to him a coffre that
was there. And whan it was broughte to his presence, he
opened hit, and toke out a table of thre fote broode, and
two fote longe, it was of wood Lybanus, & rounde about
garnyshed with unicorn. It was closed with two leaues,
subtilly wrought of a reed wood, that some sayd was of
tree that the Phenix bredeth in: and is called Rasyn. And
as there is but one bynde Phenix bredinge in Arabye: soo
lykewise there is no moo trees in the worlde of the same
dynde. On one of the outward parties of the table was
pyctured and grauen the god Juppter, on the other the
goddesse Venus: In the inward parties of the table that
shette, was pictured god Mars, and the goddesse Ceres:
In the principall of the sayd table was pictured a Bulle
subtilly wroughte to the quycke, and vnder that a kynge
was pyctured. The which payntures were sayde to be of
the handy warke of the expert Appelles an ancient wozke
man in payntinge. Than the emperour toke the table in
his hande, and with great peyne, he sayd: Thou seest my
sonne Comodus, howe I am all redy scaped fro the trap-
pers of fortune, and am entryng into the heuye adven-
tures of deathe. I wote not why the goddis haue created
vs, sith there is so great annoyance in our lyfe, & so great
perylle at our deathe. I vnderstande not why the goddis

Bb. haye

haue and vse so great crueltie to the creatures. Lxx. vix.
 I haue sayled with great trauayle throughe the great pe-
 cilles of this lyfe: and at this houre I am commaunded
 to take lande and discharge me of my fleshe, and to take
 erthe in the sepulchre. Nowe vntyeth the lyuely thredes,
 nowe vndothe the spyndell, nowe ryueth the webbe, nowe
 endeth my lyfe. Nowe am I awaked frome the slepyng
 euyll: Remembryng howe I haue passed my lyfe, I haue
 no moze desire to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche
 way to go, I refuse dethe. What shall I do? I am deter-
 myned to put me into the handes of the goddis wyllynge-
 lyfe, sythe I muste do so of necessitie. Whom I require, if
 they haue created me so; any goodnes, not to deprive me
 fro them so; my demerites. I am nowe in the laste gate:
 and to this houre I haue kepte the greatest and most ex-
 cellent iewell that I coude fynde in all my lyfe. In the t.
 vere of myn empire there arose a warre agaynst the Par-
 thes: wherefore I determinyd in myne owne personne to
 gyue them batayle. After that warre I came by the aunc-
 ient citie of Thebes so; to se some antiquite: among the
 whiche in a p̄iestes house I founde this table, the whiche
 as a kynge was reysed in Egypte, incontynente it was e-
 ver hanged at his beddes heed, and this p̄iest shewed me,
 that it was made by a kynge in Egypte name P̄tholomee
 Isacides, that was a vertuous prince. And in the memo-
 rie of hym, and example of other, the p̄iestis kept it dilig-
 ently. And sonne I haue kepte it alway with me: and I
 beseche the goddis, that suche may be thy werkes, as ther
 in thou mayste fynde good councell. As emperour I leue
 the heye of many countreyes and realmes: and as thy
 father I do gyue vnto the this table of counsaylles. Let
 this be the laste worde, that with the Empyze thou shalte
 be feared, and by this table thou shalte be beloved.

This

This sayd, and the table deluynered to his sonne, the emperour turned his eyen, and within a quarter of an houre he yelded the spirite.

Thouwe to retourne to the sayd table and writing. There was written betwene the bulle and the kyng a scroble in Greke letters, in maner of heroicall verles, conteynynge in our bulgre tonge thus : I never chose ryche tyzante, nor abhorred the poore tuste man : I never denied Justice to a poore manne for his pouertie, nor pardoned a ryche man for his greate goodes and rychesse : I never dydde good dedes, nor never gaue hyre for affection, nor gaue correction onely for the peyne : I never leste ylnessse bncastisled, nor goodnes without rewarde : I never commyted an other to do Justice that was cleare, nor darke Justice I never determined by my selfe alone : I dydde never deny iustyce to them that demaunded it, nor mercye unto hym that deserued it : I never dyd correction for angre, nor promysed any rewarde in my myrthe : I was never charges with thoughtes in my prosperitie, nor dyspayred in myn aduersitie : I never committed yll by malice, nor anye villanye for auarice : I never opened my gates to flatterers nor dissemblers, nor listened myne eates to murmurers : I haue laboured always to be loued of them that be good, and to be dredde and feared of them that be ylle : And finally I haue fauoured the poore, that myghte do but lyttell, and haue ben fauoured of the goddes that may do moche.

Chytherto is shewyd brefely the worthye and laudable lyfe of the empereour Marc Aurelius and of his deathe.
And here after ensueth the seconde parte of this boke.

Bb.ii.

C letter

CA letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to Pyramon
his speciall frende. Capitu. clix.

CThe firsle letter.



Arke oratour Romayn, borne at mounte
Celio to Pyramon of Lyon, my greate
frende, desiringe salutation to thy per
son, and strength and vertu against thy
sinister fortune. In the thurde kalendes
of Januarie I receyued thy letter, wher
by I perceyue thou hast receyued one of
myn, I set small store by thy wordes, but I esteeme greatly
what thou meanest by them. So that without declaryng
therof I haue gadred the sencence. Reason wolde bcause
I haue written so often to the, that thou shuldest the better
understonde me: but thou arte so slouthfull, that though
I call the, thou wylte not here: no; though I stryke the,
thou wylte not feele. But nowe to commen to the purpose,
thou knowest well Pyramon howe nere we be in paren
tage, aunciente in frendeshyppe, stedfastre in loue, and
fendre of hartes: and whan so euer thou putteste in expe
rience, that one true frende shulde prove an other. Thou
remembrest wel when we were at Rodes, that we dwelled
to gyther in one house, and dyd eate at one table, and all
that thou thoughtest I dyd it in effecte: and that I sayd,
thou never gaynsaydest. Certaynly thou were in my hart,
and I in thyn entrayles: I was thyn, & thou were myne.
We beinge to gether, hit semed to all other that we were
but one, and of one wyll. What is it my frende Pyramon,
Thou wrytest howe thou arte heuy, and yet thou doest not
shewe the cause why, thou complaynest þ thou art almost
deed, and thou shewest me not who taketh thy life fro the.
If thou wylt not shewe to my thyng ylldestenies, sith thou
art

Arte my frende, I wyll thou knowe, that I demaunde it
of right if thou wylte not, I wyl that thou knowe, that þ
pitiful goddes haue determined, that all pleasures and
profyte shal departe fro my house: and that all hewynes
and domages shall be registered in my persone. **S**ynce I
am prince of all honour, beinge in tribulation, þf thou
holdest, thou canste not escape out of my seignourie. **F**or
if thou complayne, that thou arte vnhappy in fortune, þtā
I esteime my selfe to be happy in vnhappynesse. I demāde
one thinge of the. Whan haste thou sene me haue suffi-
ciente, and thou nede? Whan haste thou sene me slepe, and
thou wake? and whan haste thou trauayled and I rested?
Ok trouthe synce the goodes and persons are theyr owne
proprie, the trauayles and þl aduentures are always com-
mon. One thinge thou oughtest to knowe, if in myne a-
mitie thou wylt perseuer, that all my goodes are thyne,
and all thyne euyiles are myn, syth thou arte borne to lyue
easly, and to be gentilly ordered and entreated, and I do
lyue so to trauayle. I say not this faynyngely: for thou
hast hadde experiance of me, that whan I amaria thy sy-
ller dyed, that was no lesse vertuous than fayre, thou sa-
west wel whan she was buried deed, I was buried quick:
and at the sowne of my teares thyne eies daunced. **S**ynce
thou holdest suche suretie of my person, surely thou maist
discouer to me thy peyne. Yet as often as I haue deman-
ded it, there hath not fayned reasons fayled in the. I re-
quire the, and desyre the agayne, and in the name of the
goddes I pray the, and in theyr names I conlure the, that
thou dispose all thy sorowes into myn entrayles. **F**or the
way that thou goest I wyll not leaue one pace to goo fro
the same: if thou go, I wyll go: if thou reste, I wil reste:
þf thou wokе, I wyll wokе, if thou leue of, I wyll doo
the same: if thou wylt dye, thou knowest wel, I wyll not
lyue

Iyue. Regarde frend what thou wylt do. For thyn evyls
 and myn, tormente bothe one harte. If thou haue disple-
 sure, all thynges displease me: if thou wepe, I swere fro
 hensforthe neuer to laughe: if thou discharge the of thy
 peyne, fro hensforth I shall take it for myne: if thou go
 alone, I wyll for sake company, and forþwith lyue soli-
 tarily. What wylt thou that I shulde desyre: so; al that
 euer thou wylt I wyll. Thou complaynest, that in all thy
 trauayles thou canst fynde no parente to remedy the, nor
 frende to councel the. I swere to the my frende Pyramo,
 that of these two thynges I haue as moche pouertie in
 my house as thou haste sorowe in thyn. I knowe well the
 remedy shulde come by ryches, & by councell, and consola-
 tion of theym that be wise. And by reason of my heuy de-
 stenes, slouth hath take fro me the knowlege of wisdom:
 and fortune wyl not permittie me to haue greate riches.
 Certaynely I wepe for thy myserie, and yet there is but
 smalle remedye in me. Thou sayest in thy letter, that thy
 neyghbours and frendes in promysyng haue behight the
 many thynges: but in gyuynge they do nothinge. Hereof
 I maruiylle: so; the vertuous hande is not bounde to
 make the tonge a sole. Truly though our fete daunce, our
 handes shulde werke at the sowne of the tonge: our lyfe
 endeth in fewe dayes, and our renoume in fewet. Promys
 is an auncient custome amonsg the sonnes of hanite, and
 of custome the tonge speketh hastily, & the handes wokē
 at leysure. Nowe let vs speake moze particularly.
CThou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou syndest
 not but in a fewe, that dyuers haue founde in the alone.
 Custome is to receyue forþwith and merily, and to gyue
 slowelye with yile wylle and repentaunce. They that be
 presumptuous do the one, and they whiche be sloutheful,
 do the other. The Grekes saye: that he that promyseth
 and

and is longe in fulfyllyng, is but a slacke frēde. We Ro-
mayns saye, that he is moch better that denieth forthwith,
þycause he wyll not begyle him that asketh. In this case
I say: He that may gyue and gyueth not, is a clere enne-
mie; and he that promiseth forthwith, and is longe oþ he
do it, is but a suspicious frēd. What nede wordes to our
frēdes, whā we may succour them with wōrkes? Is it not
right, to whom we giue our hertes, þ which is þ best thig
within vs, that we giue him our tonge, that is the wōrste
thinge of all our vices? In good sothe the goddis wylle
not suffre in the place of amitie, to desire any thyng of our
frēde in haste, that we dgiue it of with longe delayinge.
Plato in his lawes sayth. We comande, that in our go-
vernyng, that politike counsayle be gauen to them, that
be in prosperitie, to thentent that they decaye not: & to suc-
cour them that be in heuines and trouble, to thētente that
they dispaire not. Certaynly vnder these wordes are com-
pysed dyuers great sentenses. Thou knowest wel my frenð
Piramō, that swete wordes comfort the hart but litel that
is in tribulation, but if there be somme good wōrkes ther-
with. I wyl not denie, but that they to whom we haue gi-
uen oure good wylles in the tyme of oure prosperity, be
bounde to gyue vs of their goodes, & to shewe vs fauour
in our aduerstie. I demande one thinge of the: Wherfore
holdest thou a presumtuous lycence to demaunde? And
reprouest on the other parte the libertie of denieng. Truly
as there is shame in the demādinge, there is obligation in
some thing to deny: an impoþtunate mā is not worthy to
haue mercy. Thou maist knowe, if thou know it not my
frenð Piramō, that to attain to every thing þ is demāded,
belongeth only to the goodis. To giue every thing þ is de-
māded is no signe of any seruāt. And to deny any thing is
of libertie. To wepe for þ is denied is the cōditio of tirātis.

And

And to conne no thanke for that is gyuen, is the condityon of the Barbariens : and to haue euer a stedfaste hope of that is denied, is the guyse of the Romaynes. One of these thinges, wherin Gayus Cesar shewed hym selfe to be of hygh courage was, that he had moste greatest ioye whan the senate refusid any thyng desired by hym . Detentymes he sayde : There is nothyng wherin Rome giueth me more gloze and renowme to my persone , than whan I shewe my selfe moste hasty to demaunde, and they moste syffre to denye me : to thentente that after they shuld knowe what is my power to abyde , and howe lyttel they strēgh is to resist. Me thynde it is better to haue recourse to the goddis with vertues, than to displease theym with quarelles . And to gyue contention to thy reposid wyll, whan thou seest thy selfe in tribulation: and that thou demaundeste of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a right measure, and to peyse it in a right balaunce, the great quantite that hath benne giuen to the, and the lyttell quantite that hath be graunted the. O howe vncourteyse be we to the goddis, and of small remembraunce to men, whan we mynshē with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them : and that lyttell that hath ben refusid vs, we augment it with complaignes. Frende Pyramon, I am begyled if thou be not fyfty yeres of age, and all that season thou haste done nothyng but receyued gyftes : and yet for all that I haue nat sene the do one day of seruice. Certaynly it is no reson to complain of. viii. dayes of yll fortune, beinge fiftie yeres of age. Thou sayst in thy letter, howe thou haste moch pain, bycause thou knowest all thy neighbours to be eniuious . In good sooth I haue peyne for thy peyne, and of thy met uaylyng I haue great meruayle. For all admiration procedethe but by surmountynge of ignorance, and faulte of expety-

Roger
Smyth

experience. Both the quiche understandyng of men rule the lyfe of thē that be mortall, that they nedē not to thinkes of the trauayle to come, haupnge in their handes hasty remedys: If they be hungry, they maye eate: whan they are colde, they may warme theym: if they be sleepy, they may slepe: whan they be wery, they may rest: Whan they are sycke, they may be healed: whan they are heuite, they maye cioyce: in suchē maner, that the thoughtfull lyfe passeth, some to make tyltes and lystes, some to make armure and scatfoldes, some to inuente newe gynnes, and some to repayre bulwarkes. I say the wrold and the flesh do noughe els but syghte ageynst vs, and we haue nedē at all times to defende vs fro them. Al these remedyes are ageinst the trauayle of the fleshe. But what shall we do, that the curſenes of enuye extende not amoung all these? Cursed is that welthe, that every man enuieth. Certaynly agaynst envy is no fortresse to defend, nor caue to hyde, nor hys hil wmount on, nor thycke wodde to shadowe in, nor shyppe to scape in, nor hors to beare away, nor money to redeeme vs. Envy is so venomous a serpent, that there was never mortall man amoung mortalles, that coude scape fro the bytyngē of her tothe, and scratchyngē of her nayles, soryngē of her fete, and poisonyngē of her poyslon. I swere to the my frende Pyramon, that such as fortune likith hym with great ryches, she full of crueltie gryueth theym profounde bytynges. Envie is so envious, that to them, that other are mooste denyed, and sette fardest of, she gryueth mooste cruel strokes with her fete. This vnhappye enuye prepareth poyslon secretely fo; them that be in rest amōge dyuers pleasures.

I haue redde dyuers bookeſ of Hebrewe, Greke, Latin, and Caldee: And also I haue spoken with many very wise men, to ſe if there might be boide any remedy ageinst

L.c. an

an envious man. I confesse the trouth: Rede all that can be redde, and imagine al that can be, demaunded all that can be demaunded, and ye shall fynde none other cure agenst this cursed enuite, but to banyshē vs fro all prosperitie, and to sytē with aduerse fortune. O howe unhappy are they that be in prosperitie: for iustly they that be sette vp in hygh estate, can not flee from the perille of Scilla, without fallynge into Charibdis. They can not scape the peryll, without casting their treasures into the see. I saye that the malady of envy wyll not suffre them to scape fro dethe, and the medicine that is applied to them, wyll not assye their lyfe. I can not determyn me, whiche is the deute, or to saye more proprely the worse, extreme mysterie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperitie, that is always threatened to falle. In this case to be so extreme I wyl not determin me, sith in the one is a perillous lyfe, and in the other renoume is sure.

CI shall tell the, what wise Cicero sayde, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde you Romaines, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so ylle, to saye the trouthe always, nor always to make lyes. I am certayn, that ye bere me none enuite, for that I am not as ye be, but it is bycause ye can not be as I am: In this case I had rather that my ennemis had envy at my prosperitie, than my frendes at my pouertie.

CThis oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leuyng to gyue remedy to them that be so toweful. And after this Cicero had sene the feldes of far salpe, he toke other councell and remedy, suche as plesed hym in Rome. For if Cesar had granted him his goodis, yet þ turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frende Pyramo I know no remedy to gyue the agenst envy, sith thou seest al the world ful therof, we se how we be the sons of

enuie, and we liue with enuie, & die with enuie: & he that
 leueth most riches, leueth the gretest enuie. The auncient
 wise men couisailed rich men, that they shuld not haue pore
 folkes nere them: & they admonished the pooze, that they
 shulde not dwelle nere to the ryche. And cewely it is good
 reason. For þ richeſſe of rich men is the ſede of enuie to the
 pooze. And for that the pooze lacketh, and the riche hath
 ſomuche, cauſe the diſcord amōge the people. If were by þ
 goddis immoortal frenđ Piramon, though they that be þl
 wiſde that I shulde were falſely, as moch as riches with
 thought nozilheth couetife, ſo moch the eniuious nozilheth
 enuy therby. I counſaile the one thing, & that is, that it is
 no good counſell to flee enuie, and to auoide the vertu cō-
 trarie to the ſame. Homer ſayth, þ in his tyme there were
 two Grekes extreme in all extremitiēs: The one was ex-
 treme in riches, & therfore he was persecuted by enuie, & þ
 was Achilles: & the other was ſore noted of malice, but no
 man had enuie at him, and that was Thiestes. Certainly
 I had leuer be Achilles with his enuy, thā Thiestes with
 out it. Thou knowest well, that we Romayneſ ſerche not
 but for reſte in our lyfe, and for honour after deſthe. And
 ſiche it is ſo, it is not poſſible but the man that every man
 eniueth his renoume, ought to be exalted in the reſt of his
 lyfe. And ſiche I ſee theſe two thinges in the, ſuche as be
 thy frendes taketh lytell thought, for that thyn ennemis
 mutmure againſte the. Thou wriſteſ to me, howe they of
 Lyons do well, and are merye, excepte thy ſelſe, that arte
 enuy, and full of pensyuenes. And ſiche they ſhewe not to
 haue pleasure at thy diſpleaſure, ſhewe not thy ſelſe dys-
 pleased with their pleaſure. For it may chaunce one daye
 they ſhall be ſowfull, whan thou arte merye: Thanne
 thou halte be quite with theym. In an euyl perſone there
 can be no greter yllē, nor in a good man a greater faute,

C. ii, than

than to be displeased with an other mans welthe, and to take pleasure at an other mans harme. And in case that all do vs damage with envy, yet moche more a frende than the enemie. Soz of myn enemie I wyll beware, and soz feare he wyll withdrawe: but a frende with his amitie may bryggle me, and I by my fidelicie shal not perceyue. Amonge all mortall ennemis there is none wors than a frende that is envious of my felicitie. Pyramon my frende, I wyll conclude, if thou wylt withdrawe thy selfe fro ennemis, than kepe company with thyrowne familiar frendes. I wote not what to wryte moze to the, but with all my harte I lamente thy heuynesse. Thou knowest howe thy neare Brusia was slayne with a daggat by her owne husbande, I had great compassion for her deth, and for the renowme that she leste behynde her. Flautus Priscus thyne uncle is newly made Censure. The processe betwene thy brother Formion and Bztio is determinyd by the senate: and hit pleaseyth me ryghte welle, that they be frendes, and every man well content. The boke intytuled the consolation of heuynnes I haue ended, and layd it in the capitol. I haue written it in Greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to the. But I do sende the a ryche swerde, and a fayre girdell. Faustyne my wyfe dothe salute the, and sendethe thy wyfe two sclaves. The goddis be my kevers, and comfort the in thy present heuynesse. Marke the man fortunate, to Pyramon soze discomfited.

C A letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Cornelius of the trauayle of warre, and vantie of triumphhe.

C The seconde letter,

Marcus

Victor emperour of Rome to the Comte
lhus my faythefull frende, salute to thy
personne, and good fortune to thy deligh-
ted lyfe. As thou in tyme passed haste
bene pertener of my trauayles, I haue
sent to calle the to gyue the pleasure of
my triumphes. By the haboundance of
ychelle, diuersitie of captiues, fierenes of capitayns, that
we haue brought to Rome, thou mayst perceyue what pe-
nes we haue suffred in this warre. The Parthes are good
men of warre: and as every man findeth in their own lōd
defendeth their houses with stronge hert: and surely they
holde good men. So; without reason we dye of affection
to take other mens goodis: and they with reason do laboꝝ
to defende that is their owne. Lette no man take enuie at
the Romayn capitayn, for any triumph that is giuen him
by his mother Rome: for one daye of honour, he is a M.
dayes in dispayze of his lyfe. I wyll not speake that I
myghte saye of them that be in warre, and dwel in Rome,
ben euell inges of their owne fame. And sith that the pro-
pre renoume of a man lyeth in other folkes tongues, it is
not sayde bycause his person hathe merited, but bycause
that they do shewe their enuie. But our foolishenes is so
folyshe, and the reputation of men so bayne, that so; one
bayne wroꝝe, more than so; our profytte, we put out lyfe
in daunger, and lay out honour to guage with trauayle,
rather than to lyue, and to assure our renoume with reste.
I swere by the goddis immortall, that the day of my tri-
umph being in the chariot, I was as pensiue as I might
be. O Rome cursed be thy folys, & wo be to hym that hath
brought vp in the so moche prude. And coursed be he that
hath inuented so greatte pompe in the. What greater or
more vnegall lyghtnes can be, than that a Romayne ca-

Cc.ii. pitayn

pitayne, bicause he hath conquered realmes, altered pe-
 oples, destroyed cities, caste downe fortrells, robbed the
 poore, entyched tirantes, shulde for recompence of all these do-
 mages be receyued with great triumph? where hast thou
 sen a greater folys? Infinete nobie is destroyed in warre,
 & one alone shal here awaie the glorie therof. And though
 such miserable conquerours merited not to be buried yet
 whan I went throughe the stretes of Rome (I tell it as a
 secrete betwene the and me) that whanne the chariotte
 triumphant came, and the vnhappy prisoners charged
 with icons, remembryng the infinete treasures yl gotten,
 and heryng the lamentations of the wydowes so wfullly
 wepinge for the deathe of their husbandes, and callynge
 to mynde our manyfolde frendes deed: though I rejoyced
 me openly, I wepte droppes of blooud secretely. I canne
 not telle what personne taketh the pleasure in hym selfe of
 an other mannes damage. In this case I prayse not the
 Assiriens, nor I envy not the Persians, nor am contente
 with the Lacedemontiens, nor approue the Caldeens, nor
 contente me with the Grekes: I curse the Troyans, and
 condempne them of Carthage, bycause they folowed not
 the zeale of Justice, but what they dyd in their tyme was
 with rage of pynde, wherby they and their realmes were
 broughte into sclauder, and was occasion to lese vs. O
 cursed Rome, cursed thou hast ben, and cursed thou shalt
 be. For if the fatal destynies deceyue me not, & myn under-
 standynge sayle me not, and that fortune holde not faste,
 we shall se in tyme to come, Rome shall be in lyke case as
 other realmes be nowe in our dayes. And wheres as nowe
 with tyranny thou arte lady ouer all seignouries, it shall
 commye by Justice, that thou shalte tourne to be bonde
 to them, that are nowe vnder thy bondage. O yll fortun-
 ate

date Rome? I say it bycause that vertue is so deere in the
and makkest folye soo greate cheape. Paraduenture thou
art more autentike than Babylon, fayrer than Help, ry-
ther than Carthage, stronger than Troye, better peopled
thanne Thebes, more storied with shypes than Corinthe,
more delicious than Thyrse, more inexpugnable than A-
quille, more happy than Numancy: we see howe they all
are perlyshed, soz all theyz vertues and valiaut defenders
and thou hopest to abyde perpetually, stored with them p
be vicious, and peopled with suche as be full of wyce. O
Rome, marke this foz certayne, that the glorie that thou
hast at this houre, was fyfste theirs: and this destruction
that nowe is theyz, hereafter shal be thyn. My deere fréde
Cornelius, shall I shewe the the losse of the Romayne
people, but I can not telle it the without wepyng? I the
imperour of Rome commaunde, I make decrees foz the
warre: if any countayre arysse, by sownyng of a trou-
peyne to make menne to reple theyz baners, and to create
newe Capitaines: And hit is a thyng very eydente to
see, that whan they reple theyz standerdes, and haue leue
to make and assayle ennemyes, chyldzen leauie theyz mo-
thers, Studentes leauie theyz scholes, seruauntes fo; sake
theyz maysters, and officers theyz offyces, to the entente
that vnder the colour and crafte of goynge to warre, they
hulde not be chastised by Justice: They haue noo feare
of the goddes, noz reuerence to the Temples, noz obedi-
ence to theyz fathers, noz loue noz awe of the people, and
loue to lyue pdyll, and hate iuste labour, and theyz exer-
cyses are damageable: Somme doo robbe the churches,
somme make quarelles and stryues, and somme breaue
gates open and beare the goodes awaye, sometyme they
take theym that be at lyberty, and deluyer theym that
hulde be pþsoners: They passe the nyghtes in playes,
and

and the dayes in blasphemies : Finally they ar besete to do
watkis are holly disposed to do vi. What shal I say of their
neglygence : I am ashamed to write it . They leauie their
owne wyues and take other mens , They dyshonour the
daughters of honeste men , and begyle ponge maydens .
They enloaze theyr hostesses , and neyghbours wyues :
and worse of all , the women that do go with them , sette
them agog that doo tarpe . And so in this maner none of
these women that so go , escapeth withoute losse of honour ,
and the other ar striken with vices in theyr hattes because
they tary . Thinke surely Cornelius , that the enterprises
are smalle , where as women do goo to warre . Thou know-
west , that the women Amazones haue made greter warre
in Grecce , than the cruelle ennemis , and not soz bycause
they had not men ynowe , but bycause they were so manye
women . Pyrrhus was overcome by Alexander . The val-
iant capitayne Hanyball was lord of Italy , as long as
he suffred no women to come in his warres . And whan he
was enamoured of a fayre yonge damoyfell of Capue , he
was fayne forswith to turne his backe to Rome , bycause
Rome clesned the felde fro lecherie . Soz the same cause Au-
mancie was cast to the erthe . And I my selfe haue sene in
the warre of the Parthes . cbii . M . horsemen . lxxx . M .
foote men , and . xxxv . M . woman . And our besynes went
so , that fro our hoste I sent away Faustine my wyfe , and
so dyd other senatours their wyues home to theyr houses ,
to thentent that they shulde serue them that were olde , &
byunge by their chyldyn . That daye that a Patrician is
approued by the Senate , and ledde aboute Rome by the
Consules , the egle is hanged at his brest , and his raymet
is reade , and he after ryseth in suche pyrd , that he remayneth
not the pouertie of the tyme pastid , but thyngeth
to be emperour of Rome forswith . Beholde than what
they

They do. They wryth their berdes, & tuffle their heres, brysous their wordes, they chaunge their clothes, & rol their men, that they maye seeme the fierser. And finallye they loue to be feared, and hate to be loued. And wottest thou not that they wyll be feared? On a day beinge at Pentalyn, a capitayne of myn, not leing me, yet I harde him were and blasphemē, lavenge to a woman his hostesse: ¶ villanyous people wylle not knowe the capytaynes of warre: I wyl thou knowest mother, that the erthe neuer tembleth, but whan it is thret of a capitayne Romayne: and god neuer causeth the son to shyne but there as we be sheped. But nowe frende Cornelius sith I haue blasoned his vaunt, harken his vertue and worthynes. I swere to thi that the sayde capitayne for all his bolte, beinge in a cruel batayle, was the first alone, that fled fro the batayl, and leste the standerde: wherin he dydde noughe to cause us lose the feld. But whan it was done, I caused to strike of his heed. It is an infallyble rule, that they that shewe themselfe most fierselst, in effecte are most cowarde.

In dyuers bookeſ I haue redde: and of dyuers I haue herde, and in many I haue seene, that hit canne not sayle in a man sufferynge and pacient, to haue vertue and force: And it is maruayle that he is stronge and balyant, that can not suffre. What shall I saye moze of these greves and domages, that these men of warre do in passinge through realmes, and of thektes and robberies that they do in the houses, where as they lodge? I ensure the, the wome in þ ymbre, noȝ the mothes in the clothes, nor the warrle in the towe: noȝ the darnell amoung the coyme, nor the mesell amoung the grayn, noȝ the caterpyllers in fruit trees, dothe so moche damage, as one compayne of men of warre doothe hurte the poore people. They leauē noȝ sayle unslayne, noȝ gardyne unrobbed, noȝ wylde beest

chased, nor no mayde vndesoured: and yet that worse is; they eate withoute payment, and they wyll not serue with
 out payment: nor no man can conuerce and endure amog
 them. whan they are payed, by and by they play it awaie:
 if they be not payed, they cobbe and grudge: and the case
 is come to so great corruption, that if thou sawest it, thou
 woldest saye, that eche of them were the hed of rumour,
 and the begynnyng of strife, popson to vertues, Pyrate
 of rouers, and capitayne of all wretched theves. I saye
 not this without wepyng. It is the greatest mockynge
 of al mockeries: and the cause goeth to suche losse and par-
 tition, that these myschius people are our homelye & fa-
 milier ennies: & yet there is no emperour that can haue
 lordshyppe ouer them, nor iustice chastise them, nor fears
 withdraw them, nor lawe subdue them, nor shame refreyne
 them, nor dethe that can kyl them, for they ben men reme-
 dylessle: They ouer renne, and eate, and byspoyle euery
 man. O howe sorowefull I am for the Rome, that was
 not wont to haue in the suche yll aduentures. Certainly
 in the auncient tyme, whan thou were peopled with right
 and trewe Romayns, and not as thou arte nowe with ba-
 stardes chyldrene, than the armis, that wents fro Rome,
 were as well disciplyned and morigerate, as the scholes
 of the philosophies, that were in Grece. The olde auncien-
 t histories witnesse, that kyng Philip of Marcedonye,
 and his sonne Alexander, were happy in warre, bycause
 they kepte their armes so well ordered, that it seemed bet-
 ter to be a senate that ruled, thā an army that wold fight.
 I swere to the by myn honestie, that fro the tyme of Quintus
 Cincinnatus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcellus, in
 the whiche tyme was the greateste prosperite of Rome,
 the common people hadde greattie glorie as longe as di-
 sciplynes of knyghtchode was well corrected: and we be-
 ganne

camme to Isse, whan our capitaynes beganne to deserue
to be depraued and condempned. O cursed be thou Asye,
and cucleid be the day, that we had conqueste of the . The
goodnesse that hathe folowed therby we se it at our eye:
and the damage that is come by the shall always be so-
lolved. In the we haue wasted our treasures, & thou hast
filled vs with thy vices: In chaunge of stronge and ver-
tuos men, thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: We haue
overcome thy cites, and thou triumphest of our vertues:
we haue beaten downe thy fortresses, and thou hast dy-
stroyed our good customes: by force thou art becom ours,
and with our good wylles we are nowe thyne: Untuste-
ly we are lordes of thy realmes, and we are iuste subiectes
to thy vices: Fynally thou Asye shalte be the sepulchre
of Rome, and thou Rome shalte be the syncke and gutter
of the sylthynes of Asye. Cettaynly Rome ought to haue
benne contente with the landes of Italpe, whiche is the
mayll of the worlde, without conquerynge the landes of
Asye, to bereire them from other. I lyke well all thynges
that I haue redde of my predecessours, sauinge that they
were provde, as we their successours be to hardye. And
I sweare unto the, that yet peraduenture after the peyne,
we shall becomme vertuous and good : All the rychesse
and tryumphes, that our forefathers haue broughte oute
of Asye, the goodes and the rychesse , and they also with
the tyme at laste hadde an ende: but the wantomesse and
vices that are in vs their childeren, dothe remayne stille
unto this daye. I wolde to god that the Princis knewe
what an outtagious thyng hit is to enuente warres in
chaunge landes and countreyes, and what trauyyle they
sche in their persons, and what thoughtes in their min-
des, and what murmure and mocyon in their subiectes,
what ende and wastinge of their rychesse and treasures,

Dd.ii.

whag

what pouertie to their frendes, what pleasure to their en
 emies, what damage to their natyue countreys, & what
 payson they leaue to their owne enherytours. I sweare to
 the, that if I had knownen that I doo knowe (I wyll not
 say but by bloudde shedde they be taken) if they had off-
 ered them selfe with good wylle and shedyng of teates, I
 wolde not haue taken them. The trouthe is, that our capi-
 taynes neuer slew. xx. M. men of Asie, with their armous
 that they bare out of Itallye, but they loste mo than a. C.
 M. Romayns with the vices that they brougght to Rome:
 As eatynge openly in the palayes Aulonios, supynge
 in their houses secretely, the women to cloth them as me,
 and the men painted as women. The patriciens bearyng
 Measques, The plebeyens blynge smelles, and the em-
 perours to weare purpul. These. viii. vices of Asie, Asie
 sent for a presēt to Rome. Neuer noble capitayns brought
 them, I leaue to shewe their names, leste I shulde shame
 them with their faultes, sythe they were so noble men by
 their highe dedes. Nowe ye princis beholde what profite
 it is to take straunge realmes with your warres: I leue
 the vices that they recouer, and the vertues that they lese,
 with the perdition of their treasure that they loue. For cer-
 tayn there is neyther kyng nor realme brougght to extreme
 pouertie, but by warryng a straunge realme with fynall
 & extreme conquest. I demaunde of the myne owne frende
 Cornelius: What causeth princis to lese their treasure,
 & require them of other: Whan their owne can not suffise,
 than they take from churches, setche dyuers loones, reyle
 tributes, and inuent newe subydies, grue and spende on
 straungers, and make hym selfe hated of his owne, praye
 every man, and haue nedē of every man: aduenture his
 persone, and aduenture his renoume: If thou knowest
 not this, I wyll tell the, if thou wylt here me. These prin-
 cis

as counsell with men, they lyue with men, and ffinally at the laste they are men. At one tyme by pride that surmounteth them, an other tyme by counseyl that fapleth them, some imagininge by their fantasies, some sayinge, that he haue great goodes, he ought to encrease his fame, and that no memoire shuld be of him, if he inuented no warre, and that the emperour of Rome by right is lord of all the earth. And in this maner as his fortunes is base, and his thoughtes high, the goddis suffreth that whā he thinketh likeli to wynne an other mannes, than lustely he loseth his owne. O pryncis, I can not telle what begylethe you, to where as ye may be tyche with pleasure, ye wyl be pore with warre: where as ye may be beloued, ye wil be hated: where as ye may play and spoyle your selfe, and rest in a faire lyfe, ye wyl comynte your selfe to the chaunces of fortune: and where as other haue necessarie of you, ye put your selfe to be in the necessarie of other. And thoughe the prince make no warre, he shulde not suffre his people to warre: Every man ought to leauue the warre. Frend Corneilius, I demaunde of the, whether is more trauaylie to his persone, or damage to his realme, a kynges ennemis with his owne armie: His ennemis robbethe on the coasts, but our men tobbe all the londe: The enemys maye breasyled, but we dare not speake to our owne ne: The ennemis enuade vs on one day, and recule backe agyn, but our garisons robbe dailye, and abyde slyle. The straingers haue some feare, but ours are shameles: and at the laste the farther þ our ennemis goo, the moze they ware hyttalle, and our armies of men euerye daye encrease in multie, in suche wyse, that they offend the goddis, and be importunate to their pryncis, and noyfull to the people, lyuyng to the damage of every man, and be hypoprofytal to all men. By the god Mars I swere to the, and as I

Dd.iii. mays

M A R C U S

maye be holpen in the warres, that I governe with my
 hande, I haue mo complayntis dayly fro the senat on the
 capitaines that ben in Iillyrike, than on all the ennemis
 of the Romayne people: I haue mo feare in mayntey-
 nyng one standarde of a hundred men, than to giue bat-
 tayle to i. 99. ennemis. For the goddis and fortune dis-
 patche a battayle in an houre, be it good or bad: but with
 these other I can do nothyng in al my lyfe. Thus it hath
 ben my frende Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it shall
 be. Thus I founde it, thus I holde it, and thus I shall
 leauie it: Our fathers dyd invente it, and we susteyne hit,
 that be their chldren, & for yll it shall abyde to our heires.
 I saye to the one thinge, and I thinke I am not deceyued
 therin: To endure the great damage and no prouffite of
 these people, I thinke it a great foly in man, or els a gre
 punishmente of the goddes. Be the goddis so iuste in all
 iustice, and so true in all veritie, that they wyll suffre vs
 without reason to do yll in straunge landes, to whom we
 dyd never good, and in our owne houses to haue shewide
 tournes of them, that we haue alwaye done good. These
 thinges frende Cornelius I haue write to the, not because I
 thinke it nedful that thou shuldest know it: but my spitt
 testeth in shewynge of it. Panutius my secretarie wente to
 visse this lande, and on the way I gaue hym this letter:
 I do sende to the two hozles, I thinke they be good. The
 armour and iewels that I wône on the Parches, I haue
 departed them. Howe be it I sende the a chariot of theym.
 My wyfe Faustyne saluteth the, and sendeth to thy wylt
 & riche glasse, & an ouche of precious stones to thy doughter:
 I beseche the goddis to gyue the good lyfe, and mea
 good dethe. Marcus thy louer writeh to the Cornelius
 his frende.

1600
 1600

To Toxates beinge at Gayette in consola-
tion of his banyshement.
The iii. letter.

Marke of mount Celio, companyon of the em-
pire, to the Toxate beinge at Gayette, patri-
cien Romayne, salute to thy person, and ver-
tue and force against aduerse fortune. It is a
thre monthes syth I receyued thy letter, the
whiche myn eyes myght not make an end to rede, nor my
handes to answere. I am so heuy for thy heuynes, so peyn-
full for thy peyn, and so hurt with thy wound, that wheres-
as thou wepest with thyn eyes outwardly, I wepe with
my hart inwardly. I wote what difference is betwene the
tre and the cropp, and the dreme fro the trouthe: I here
of thy trauples by straunge persons, and I fele them in
myn owne person. But where as true frendes be, the peyn-
nes are in comen. The great infortunes ought to be suf-
ferred for one thyng, bycause they declare who are the true
frendes: I knowe by thy letter, howe thou arte banished
from Royme, and all thy goodes confiscate, and that for
pure heuynes thou art lycke in thy body. I wolde goo see
the, and counsaile thy person, bycause that thou myghtest
be, with what harte and wyll I doo wepe for thy myslad-
venture. But if thou take me for thy trewe frende, beleue
me as I beleue the, that is howe moche I feele thy myslad-
venture. Of trouthe as thou arte banyshed bodylye, so
am I banyshed inwardly in my hart. And yf thy goo-
des or substance be taken away fro the, I am robbed of
a good frende and companion. And if thou lackeste thy
frendes, I am abydyng amonge myn enimies. Though
I myght remedy by wokyng of my power, thy banysh-
ment: yet I wyl counsaile thy spirite with certain wordis.

¶ 3

If I be not forgetfulle, I never saue the content in this lyfe: bycause thou were euer bespe in thy prosperitie, and wery of any aduersitie. And as nowe I se the dispayre, as though thou were but newe come in to this world. I haue knownen the this. xxii. yeres in great ioy: and nowe thou complaynest of. vt. monethes that fortune hath tourned her whele. O Toxate, now thou mayst kniwe, that veriuos men feare more two dayes of prosperitie, than two hundred of aduerso fortune. O howe manye menne, and howe manye ryche cities haue thou and I seenne flyppre fro their prosperites, through theyr vicious lyuyng and straunge enemities? In suche wise, that theyr baynglorie and flypper prosperite endured but two dayes: and the hurtes and losse that they haue hadde, and the cruell and extreme enymties, the whiche also that they haue wonne, lasteth to this daye in their heires. Contrary wyse we see some set in the height of tribulations, the whiche haue escaped by fallynge away vices, clothynge them with vertues, werye of euyll warkes, folowyng goodnes, beinge frendes to all, and enemis to none. What wylte thou that I shulde say more? They that are happy, are ouercome in peace, and they that are vnhappy, do ouercomme other in warre. Therfore my frende Toxate, it semeth to me no lesse necessitie to gyue good counsayle, than to prosper with great prosperite, to remedy them that are in gryewynesse. For as wery are they that go the playn way, as they that costeth the highe mountaynes. By thy letter I perceue, that what time thou hopedst to haue ben in most quietnes and rest, this yll fortune and chance felle on the. Be not abashed therof. For though he that all newe chaunes causeth newe thoughtes presently, yet therby cometh more cause of stedfastnes in tyme to come. Certaynlye the tree beareth not so moche fruit there as it spryngeth first,

as it dothe whan it is newe sette in an other place. And all
good smelies are moxe odiferous, if they be wel medled
and chaufed together. I pray the tell me, abidynge in the
world, beinge a chylde of the same, and louyng the wold,
what hopeſt thou to haue of the woſde, but woſdly thin-
ges? the woſde ſhall alwayes be the woſde. At this houre
 thou arte woſdly, and ſhalt be woſdly, and ſhalte be en-
taoled, as the woſde is accuſtomed to entrete them that
be woſdly. If thou kneweft thy ſelue and thy weakeſeſe,
if thou kneweft fortune & her mutation, if thou knewelſte
the men and their malices, if thou kneweft the wold and
the flateringe therof: thou wolde reyſe the fro the hande
therof with honour, and not be chaffiſed with infamy.
O howe we hope to ſpede by fortune! O how often with-
out reſpecte bwareſ we paſſe this lyfe! O howe often
we truſte the boauance of this woſde? and we truſt therin
as moche as though it neuer begyled man. I ſay it not bi-
cause I haue harde it ſayde, nor because I haue redde it in
bookeſ: but foꝝ we ſe it dayly with our eyes: ſome decaye
and leſe their goodes, other falle and loſe theyz credence,
ſome falle in ſyghte, and leſe theyz honour, and other arife
and loſe theyz lyues, and ſome thynke, that all are free by
privilege, where as neuer none were priuyleged. O my
frende Toxate, of one thynge I am certayne, and let eue-
ry man take it foꝝ a warning: Men by whom we be boorne,
be of ſo yll diſpoſition, and the woſde ſo fierſe and cruell,
with whome we lyue, and the glydinge ſerpent fortune ſo
full of poſon, that they hurt us with their ſete, & bite us
with theyz teethe, and ſcratche us with theyz nayles, and
ſwelle us with theyz poſon, ſoo that the paſſyng of the
lyfe is no leſſe than takynge of deaþe. And in caſe thou
haſte ſene ſomme lyue longe without any falle of fortune,
thyne not it is well, foꝝ it is not by good aduenture, but

¶ the

the more his yl fortynge. The wroldis so malycious, that
if we take not heve to prepare agaynst his wrinche, it wil
ouerthowe vs to our greater losse and hurt. Moche so-
ner dye they that ben helthful with the infirmities & lyck-
nes of few dayes, than they that be weke with their lagone
of many yeres. I say this bycause I hold it soz most sure-
tie, that the myserable man, that maye not lyue without
mysteries, shulde sele the peynes by lyttell and lyttel, and
not al at ones. We ete dyuers thynges by morsels, whiche
if we shulde eate hole, wold choke vs. In lyke wyse in di-
uers dayes we suffre dyuers trauayles, whiche al togyder
wolde make an ende of vs in one day, and than sythe the
goddis wyll permytte, that thy mystryne shall fall, and
that the ryuer of thy decay ouerflowe her chanel, & where
thou wenest to be most sure, thou shalt be in gretest peril:
we shall minister to the a syrope, to the entent þ thou lose
not thy good renoume, though thou haue lost thy goodis
that be nought. Tell me I praye the Toxate, why com-
playnest thou, as he that is lycke? Why criest thou lyke a
foole? why syghest thou as a desperate man? why wepest
thou as a chylde? Thou haste gone an yll way, and com-
playnest of thy teste. Thou arte clothed to goo throughe
bushes, and thou sayest that thy gownes do teare. Thou
walkeste amonge the stones, and arte soze bycause thou
falllest. Thou haste leaned and thought not to fal, and fi-
nally thou arte sette with the wrold, and thynkest to be
free with heuen. Wylte thou haue saufconduite of for-
tune, that is ennemye to many? She can not gyue the na-
turaltie, whiche is mother to al thynges. I wyl aske the
one thyng: I put the case that the see had promysed the
alway in suretie of her, and the skye cleere wether, the so-
mer knowes, and the wynter flowres: It wyl not be of a
suretie Toxate. If nature canne not fulfylle this, beinge
thy

thy owne mother, thinkest thou than, that fortune wylle
gyue it the, whiche is thy vniuste stepmother? Kepe this
rule for certayne, and never forget it, that al natural cour-
ses are subiectes to mutation every yere. And all worldly
folke that trusste on fortune, shall suffre eclyps every mo-
ment. And than syth naturall thynges can not be always
in one case, of necessitie the goodis of fortune muste pe-
nisse, sythe they be superfluitie. Ryght vniust shulde the
ryghtwylse goddis be, ys they had made perpetuall that,
whiche is damageable to so many: O that whiche is pro-
fitable, to haue created it fallyble. I wyl speake no more
of thy prosperitie in tymes past, but nowe I wyl commen-
to the banyshement that thou suffrest prelately. Suspe-
cious fortune made a fayre at thy gate, knowynge what
she tolde: and thou wylste not what thou boughtest: She
made a dere bargayne, and tolde it dety to the: She hathe
gyuen the swete for swete, and the swete is tourned into
sowmenesse for the: she hath gyuen the yuell for good, and
hath tourned thy good to yl. And finally she hath begyled
the at a sulfe pice, not wenyng to the that she wolde haue
done the damage: and though that she was malycious in
sellyngage to the, thou were no lesse foolyshe in the byengage
therof: for the moze there is in fortunes shoppe, the more
suspecte is the marchandyse. O howe vnhappy be we, for
in that market is nothyng sold but lyes. And she trusteth
nothyng but hympon the pledges of our renoume: and at
laste wyl not be payde but with the shotte of our lyfe, and
that is the mooste greatest and myschewous wounde.
It is openly knownen to euery man as to the, that where
as they thynke not to leese theyz wares, false fortune in
that they purpose, to theyz myshappe lyeth in awypte, and
is redy to bye theym. Thou makest me very sore abashed
Toxate, I haue reputed the ryghte wylse and vertuous,

C.ii. and

and nowe I take the for a losse foole. In good sooth whan
I sawe the ponge in Gayette, I judged the worthy to ge-
uerne Rome: and nowe that thou art olde, thou deseruest
nothyng but to be caste in a galeyn as a sclauie. O how ma-
ny thynges are there to knowe a man by! There is not so
high a toppe of a hylle, but hit is trodden with ferre: nor
soo depe a see but hit is sounded with leade. And in a hun-
drede yeres one manne can not attayne to knowe an other
mannes harte. Telle me I praye the, what lokedste thou
for of fortune, after soo greattē welthe? Lyuyng to the
worlde, thynke to be in the worlde. The children of vanite
goode and walke soo longe, that at laste their disordinate
despyces canne not take fro the wold their antike vilenies
and shamefulnes, the whiche fortune dothe not with them
that she hathe reysed vnto the skyes, thynketh than, that
she shall bothe with the to the loweste parties. O sole To-
cate, thoughtest thou to passe the see withoute peryll, to
eate flesche withoute bones, To dynke wine withoute
lypes, to walke in the wayes withoute findyng stones, To
bye wheate withoute chaffe? In good sooth, if thou thought-
est to bye yl goodes withoute hindrance of thy good fame,
and maynteyne thy good rendume without losse of yl got-
ten goodes, I wolde wyte of the, what thou dyddeſt hope
to do, for the so longe season thou haste made a face in the
world. xxxiiii. yere thou haste ben in the grace of the wold,
nowe it is tyne fro hensforth to fall at some discorde ther-
with. Abelle, kyng of the Assiriens, hoped to haue but sev-
erettes of good p̄speritie, Quene Semiramis but one-
ly lyre, Abell kyng of the Lacedemoniens lyue, Cutete
kyng of the Caldeens. iii. Alexander kyng of the Gre-
kes. iii. Amyleat the great of Cartage but . ii . and out
Gayus Cesar Romayn but one onely, and many before
and lyfe not one yete: And syth thou were the mooste un-
knowe

unwen of lynage, The grosseste of vnderstandyng, and
the leste of power, the darkeste of fame, and the most weke
in merites: wherfore than complaynest thou of fortune? If thou haddeſt ben vertuous in all theſe. xxx. yeres, thou
haddeſt neuer eaten without thoughte, no; neuer ſpoken
without ſuſpicion, no; ſlepte without ſtertyng, thinking
what thou haddeſt to do, and wherin fortune myghte be-
gyle the. He that ſo longe is beſette aboue with ſo manye
enemies, I can not tell howe he ſhuld take any ſure ſlepe.
My Toxcate Toxcate, the wylde hath ſo many falles, and
we knowe ſo yll howe to continue amonqe them that be
woldly, that scantly we are fallen whan our handes and
our lyke ſclauies be ſoo fast tied, that we can not loſe them.
It ſylleth our persons full of vices, strengtheth our ſine-
nes to wickednes, weaketh our hartes in vertues, and fi-
nally rendreth our ſpirites in a traunce, and maſeteth our
vnderſtandyng, and chaungeth our taſte, and ſufferethe
us as beaſtes to ſhewe our euylls that we fele with way-
hinges, all though as men we durſt not ſhew it. And that
this is true, it appereth, that whanne we ſee, that we loſe,
we lament and complayne, and none can helpe hym ſelue.
This ſmalle leſſon I writte to the, to the ende that thou
lyue in leſſe thoughte. The hoſte colte that thou hyddedſte
lende me, leapeth very well: The ſpanuell that thou ſent
to me, is well, but he is wylde: the calfe was very fatte,
and I wolde haue eaten it forthwith, but my wyfe Fau-
ſlyn besily prayed me to kepe it, and thinketh that it was
ſolen in a gardeyne. I ſende to the .ii. M. ſexters for to
ſuccour the in thy trauayles. And as touchyng thy bany-
hement at tyme conueniente I ſhal diſpatch thy matters
with the ſenate. The conſolation of the goddis, and the
loue of man be with the Toxcate. The ſodeynnes of culis,
and the yze of the furties be ſeparate fro me Marcus Au-
Ge.iii, relius

celius. Faustyn my wise greteth the, and in lyke wise fro
her parte and outs, to thy mother in lawe, and thy wyfe
haue vs recommended. Marc of Rome sendethe this wi-
tyngte to Tortate of Gayete,

**A letter to Domitius of Capue to comforte
him in his banisshemente.**

The fourthe letter.

MAtke o;atour Romayn, boorne on mount
Celio,to the Domitian of Capue salute
and consolation of the goddes consola-
tors. In this right colde wynter ther
arose in this lande a myghty greet wind,
and by reason of the great wynde arose
great quantitie of wates, and the wa-
ters haue caused great humidities, and great humidities
b;ede dyuers maladies and diseases: and amonge all the
infirmities of this lande I haue the goute in my hande,
and the clatica in my legge. For the helth of my wyfe sau-
stine I can neyther go nor w;ite. I sape it bycause I can
not write to the so longe as the case wolde require, and as
thy thankes meryteth, and my desyre coueteth. It is shew-
ed me by occasion of a h;ors thou hast hadde strife with
Patricio thy neyghbour, & that thou art banished fro Ca-
pue, and set in the prison Mamartyn. Thy goodes are es-
calked, and thy chyldyn banished, thy house caste downe,
and haue put thy neuewe out of the senate, and banyshed
the, the senate for x. yeres. It is tolde me, that all the day
thou wepest, and wakest by nyght,in company thou diest,
and doest loue to reste solytarilye, Thou hatest pleasure,
and louest pensyuenes : and I haue no meruayle: for so-
towefull hartes lyueth with teares and wepyng, and be-
mercy

myt & laugh in dyleng. I am righte sorie to se the lost: but
muche more that fo^r so smalle a thyng thou shuld be cast
away, as fo^r a hors to lese all thyng estate. O how variable
is fortune, and howe sone a myladuenture fallethe before
our eyes. Fortune gwyeth these euyls, & we see it not: with
her handes she toucheth vs, and we fele it not: she treadeth
vs vnder fete, and we knowe it not: she speakeþ in our
earns, and we here her not: she crieth aloude vnto vs, and
we vnderstande her not: and this is bycause we wyll not
knowe her: and fynally, whan we thynke we are mooste
furest, than are we in mooste peryll. Trouth it is, that with
a lyttell wynde the fruyte fallethe fro the tree: and with a
lyttell sparcle, the hous is sette a fyze: a small rocke bres-
eth a greate shyppe, and with a lyttell ston the legge is
hurt. I saye that oftentimes of that we feare not, cometh
greate peryll. In a close fistula rather than in an open,
the surgiens double the peryll: In depe stylle waters the
pilot feareth more than in the greate hye iawes: Of se-
crete enbushement rather than of open armes the warri-
our doubteth: I wyll not onely say of straungers, but of
their owne propre, Not of ennemyes, but of frendes, not
crewelle warre, but of peace, not of open damage or
slander, but of secrete peryll and myschiese, a wyse man
oughte to beware. Howe manye haue we seene, that the
chances of fortune coude not abate, and yet within a shourt
whyle after vnwares with greate ignominious shame
hath ouerthowen them? I wolde wittē of the, what restē
can a persone haue, that trusteth euer vpon the prosperite
of fortune, sythe fo^r so lyghte a cause we haue sen so gret
stryfe in Rome, and suchē a losse to thy hous? Seynge
that I se, I wyll not feare the wyndes of her trauaylles,
nor beleue in the clerenesse of her plesures, nor her thoun-
ders shal not fete me, nor wil trust vpon her flatteringes,

no; thanke her so; that abydeth with me, no; be sorwe for
 that she taketh fro me, no; wake for anye trouthe that she
 sayth to me, no; rysle for any of her leysynges, no; laughe
 for any thyng that she desireth of me, no; wepe for gyuing
 me leauue, if thou knowest not the cause of this I shall tell
 the. Our lyfe is so doubtfull, and fortune so wayewarde,
 that she doth not alway threate in strykyng, no; stryketh
 in thretenyng. The wyse man gothe not so temperately,
 that he thynketh at every steppe to falle, no; lyue with so
 smalle a thought, to thynke to ouerthow in euery playne
 pathe. For oftentimes false fortune shaketh her weapon,
 and striketh not, and an other tyme striketh without sha-
 kyng. Beleue me of one thyng Domitius, That parte
 of the lyfe is in mosste perylle, whan with lyttell thoughte
 o; care men thynke them selfe most sure. Wylt thou se the
 trouthe therof. Idusye the of Hercules that scaped fro
 many perylles by see and by lande, and yet dyed betwens
 his lemans armes. Laomedon perlyshed not vnder Troy,
 but was slayne in his house. Greate Alexander dyed not
 in makyng warre ouer all the erthe, but he ended with
 a lyttel popson. The couragious Caius Cesar sauad hym
 selfe in .iii. battayles, and after in the senate was slayne
 with .xxii. strokes of penknives. Asclipio brouther of Dom-
 peie perished not flotyng. .xxii. were vpon the see, but he
 was drowned after in drawyng water at a welle. Tenne
 capitayns that Scipio had with him in Afrike, that van-
 quished many hard batayles, as they were mockyng on
 a brydge, they fel fro the brydge and were drowned. Good
 Drusio that had overcome the Parthes, the day of his tri-
 umph goinge to his chariot there fell a tyle that claue &
 sander his heed, so that vayne glorye was the ende of his
 good lyfe. What shuld I tel the moze? Thou knowest wel
 that Lucye my syster hauyng a nedell on her basom, play-
 enge

unge with her chylde betwene her armes, the chylde with
 his hande hytthe the nedell suche a stroke into her bodge,
 that he slewe his mother. Gneo Russyn the consule, sentis
 against the Germayns, of our tyme was so halpature in
 armes, that none of our pidecessours surmounted hym:
 þat he hembyng his olde whyte heates, one of the teethes
 of the combe entred into his heed, wherby grewe an yma-
 posseune, by occasion wherof he ended his honorable life
 in so smalle a case. Howe semethe the Domitius? As I
 do tell the of so small a nombre, I conde recypte infinit ex-
 ample, What misfortunes fell after good fortunes, what
 mischaunce after great glorie, what myladuenture after
 great happe, what greate euyll they take of their deathe
 after the begynnyng of greate welthe in the lyfe. I be-
 lieve as they, knowe not what to desire, but they beinge
 as I am wyl rather chuse the laborous and honourable
 deathe, than an yll death and an honourable lyfe. To my
 lemyng he, that wyl be a man amonge men, and not a
 bestie amonge bestes, ought to trauaple soze to lyue well,
 and moche more to dye better. For at the fynall ende an
 yll deathe putteth great doubte of the good lyfe: and the
 good deathe excuseth the yll lyfe. I haue wrytten to the at
 the begynnyng of my letter, that by reason of the humi-
 dities, the gowte greueth me ylle. But to satisfie thy de-
 sire, I wolde sayne wryte with my hande more at length.
 Two daies the loue that I bare to the, hathe saught with
 the peine that I endure. My wylle wolde wryte, but my
 fingers can not holde my penne. The remedy is, siche I
 maye not as I wolde; that thou wylte take as thin owne
 that I may do, as myne owne dede. Faustine my wife sa-
 lutedh the, who by reasonne of my diseases is halfe ylle at
 ease. It is shewed her, that thou haste greate peine of a
 partie of thy face, she hathe sente the a boore with baume,

ff

that

that thy herte shall not appere in thy visage, if thou canst
crude any grene almondes or new nuttis. Faulstine pray-
eth the to lende her some by this beater. I haue but lytell
stoore of money, therfore I send the a gowne and thy wyfe
a kyttell. No more but I pray the goddis to give the that
I desir for the: and to give me that thou desirrest for me.
And beside that I do wryte to the with my hande, I gyue
to the myn owne proprie herte.

Letter sente fro the emperour to Claudius and
Claudyne his wyfe, bycause they beinge
olde, lyued as yonge persons.

Che. b. letter.



Arcke of mount Cello to the Claudius and
Claudyne husbande and wyfe, dwellynge
in my warde, I desire helthe, sendyng you
this letter. The trouthe is, bycause ye are
my frendes, & vnder my charge, I enquire
of them that come fro you of your estates:
and by theyni that go to you, I sende recommendations
to you bothe: ys ye haue my good wylle demaunde hit of
your hartes. And if in your stomacke ye repute and take
me but as a suspicio[n]ous frende, thanne I thinke my selfe
even cleane condempned. The cruelle forgetfulnesse, the
whiche may be cauler of myne absence, peraduenture ba-
nysheth the good dedes that ye haue receyued of my per-
son. If in any thyng I haue entreated you with lyves,
than I require that ye entreate me nothyng with trouth.
But if I haue bene alwayes your good nepghbour and
frende, ys ye haue any nede of myne honour, than be to
me as good. Gayo furion my frende, as wel as your pa-
rent, passinge this wraye to Alexanдрye, hathe shewed me
many

many thinges the whiche were done in Rome: & amonge
other he shewed me one thinge, that caused me to laughe
whan I herd it: and yet it was right greuous to me, whan
I thoughte theron. Some thynges we take sodeynlye in
spore and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde well considere-
red, makethe vs verye sorrye. He shewed me how that ye
seme to euery man right auncient, and very yonge in your
yonge: for you array your selfe dayly with newe apparel,
as ye shulde go to weddynges, and where as men do ho-
nour you as ancient persons, ye shewe your selfe wantons
and what folke renne to se gewgawes, ye are not the last.
There is no lyghtnes in Rome, but it is regestred in your
house. Thus ye gyue your selfe to pleasures, as they that
chynke never to haue displeasure. And finallye whan ye
shulde lyfte by your handes, ye entre newely into the wa-
ges of the worlde. Twely my neyghbours and frendes
to speake with due reuerence, I am a shamed of your vn-
hamefastnes, and am no lesse sorie for your fautes. There
be dyuerse greuous faultes, that are made lyghte by the
honeste withdrawynge of them. And some other that are
but smal fautes, & syndyng no wais to leue them are este-
med very great. By all the goddes, I can fynde none oc-
casyon howe for to excuse your euylls: but I see nowis
wherwith to condempne them. Wherfore pardone me, if
that I seeme vnhonest to speake so moche, if ye be not ho-
neste in your lyuyng. In good sothe I denaye not, but
that thou Cladius haste ben ryghte free and lyberalle of
thy personne, and thou Claudine ryght fayre of bysage,
and many persons for the beutie of thy sozehed haue be cu-
tious to haue had y to wise, but I wold wit of the pouth of
rone, & beutie of the other, in bslinge al your lynes in bat-
talle, what goodly trinkettes ye hope to were in the straig-
nes of the Sepulchre. O great soles, ye and soles agayn,

Do penot knoue yet, that the tyme steeþ with mouyng
of wylinges? The lyfe traunayleþ on her way withoute lis-
tyng of her fete: for tyme stretcheþ her withoute shrycynge
her armes, & the wold boydeth it selfe sayeng nothyng,
the fleshe consumeth withoute felyng, and our gloriþ pa-
sseth as it never had ben: and finally deth assayleþ vs er
ever he knocke at the gate. Certaynly it is impossible for
to make sinewes of blode, of beynes to make bones, of a
craggy rocke a playne waye, and of possible to make im-
possible: I mene þ none shal thinke, but that the grevesse
of youthe, shall waste and wydder in aege: O woylde,
what a woylde arte thou! so lycel is our force & our we-
akesse so greate, that withoute reslyng drownesth vs wyl-
lingly in the depenes of thy perillous whirlepoole: and
hydesth vs in the thyckest of thy mountaynes, and leadesth
vs out of the broude way wandryng by thy narow pathes,
and byngesth vs into the rugged waye. I do meane, that
they that be greatest in fauour, thou bringest into daun-
ger, to the entente that with one strok of thy sore thou
mayst ouerthrowe them. O woylde, lit. yere I haue bene
in the, and yet thou never saydest one trouthe to me, and
I haue taken the with. r. M. lyes. I never desyred any
thyng of the, but thou dyddest promysse it me, but thou
never gauest me any thyng promised me: I never treued
with the, but thou begyledste me, I never arryued at the,
but thou losse me: I never sawe thyng in the, whereby I
shulde loue the. For all that we see in the, is worthy to be
abhorred. And byside this, I wote not what is the wold.
O what faute is in vs thy woldly wretches! For if thou
hate vs, we dare not hate the: if thou braule with vs, we
muste be shille: if thou spurne at vs, we muste suffre the:
if thou beate vs with a flasse, we saye nothyng: And yet
if thou woldest haue vs gone, we wyl not go. And woldst
of

of allis, that we hadde rather serue the for nothinge with
 nauiale, thanne the goddes with prayer and reste. I swere
 to the by the immortalle goddes, that often tymes I make
 accompt of my yeres passed: and an other time I reuolue
 my booke to see what I haue redde. And likewise I de-
 mawnd of my stendes to give me counsayle to know wher-
 mit is that I wolde speake. I beinge at Rhodes redyng
 Rhethorique, My lord Adran keppynge me there, at the
 age of. xxi. yere, my yonge fleshe, and no lesse weake than
 under at the firste wolke I founde solytarienne, and the
 solytarienes with libertie abozed the worlde: In adorynge
 I felte it, in felynge I folowed it, in folowing I ouertooke
 it, in ouertakings I toke it, in takinge I proued it, in pro-
 upnge I tasted it, in tastynge I founde it bytter, in finding
 it bytter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I felte it, in leauynge
 it, it retourned, and returnyng I receyued hit. And in
 this maner. iii. yeres we haue eaten of one breadde, and
 dwelled in one house. whā I saw it displeased, I serued it,
 whan it saue me thoughtfull it chered me, whan I saue
 him prosperite, I demaunded it, whan it saue me mercy
 it be gyuled me. And thus we be to gether vnto this daye,
 not gyuyng me leauie to goo, nor I wyllyng to departe
 fro it. O woldē thou hast so many countenaunces in thy
 hanpytie, that thou leadest all wandryng in vnstablenes,
 whch we suffre the to take vs, thou wilt never deliuere vs:
 if we withdraw our selfe fro the snare of fortune, forthwith
 thou settrest our legges fast with irons: and if by chance
 we fyle the yrons, anon thou manaclest our handes: and
 though the way be strayte, the pathe sharpe, the iourney
 longe, and our fleshe weake, yet our bodies are euer ladē
 with vices, and our hartes fulfylled with thoughtes and
 synnyenes. Of one thyng I haue great mercuayle, and
 I can nōc deuyse what it is; without any constraint to the

ff. iii. con-

contrary we go surely ouer the brydge, and yet we wylle
 go an nother waye, and though the same way be sure, yet
 we wyl aduenture into the gyltre: if the wayes be drye,
 yet wyl we goo throughe the dyre and myre and plashes
 hauyng meate for our lyuyng we setche for poyson to
 kylle vs, we setche to be loste, and may be assured: with
 out interest we commynte synne, seynge peyne commyng
 withall: and synally to the entente that we shoulde be ta-
 ken for good, we shote at the whyte of vertues, and hit
 the buttie of vices. One thyng I confesse, thoughte it be
 myn owne shame, Paraduenture in tyme to come it shall
 be profitable to som other: In i. yeres of my life, I wold
 proue all the vices of this lyfe, to se if any thinge myghte
 haue satisfieth the humayn malyce: And after I had sene
 all thyng, I founde that the more I dydde eate, the more
 I dyed for hongre: The more I slepte, the more sluggy
 I was: the more I dranke, the more thyriste I hadde, the
 more I rested, the more wety I was: the more good I
 hadde, the more couetous I was: the more I sought, the
 lesse I founde: And finallly, I never toke peyne for any
 thyng, but I was euer lette: and than anone I hadde
 appetite to an other. Lette no man thynde to lyue in the
 fleshe, and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power to take fro
 vs our lyfe: and we haue no power to take from it the di-
 ordinate couetise. I wolde sayne knowe of the goddis,
 why our days shuld haue an ende. O cruell goddes what
 is this? We can never passe one good lifes day, we do but
 taste it, and so passeth our lyfe, and lyfe is but a dreame,
 and deth the wakethe it. Lette every man knoewe, that the
 woldē takethe our wylle, and we with our good wyl giue
 it thereto: and it takethe our wylle to the ende to contente
 vs, and prayse that we prayse, and the tymē passethe soō,
 that we lyue after the cursed tymē. To attayne vertues

we

haue good desire: but to attayne to vsces we putte to
about warkes. This haue I sayde for you Claudyus
Claudine, that in thise score yeres ye wylle not pssue
yngoo dute of the prison of the worlde: Haupnige vous
not purifysyd with yrons and chaynes. What is thanne
to be hoped of yonge personnes, whiche be of fyue and
twentie yeres olde: Excepte my memorye sayle me: what
I was with you, ye hadde your newewes sonnes of your
chyldren marayed, and nycecs daughters of your dough-
ters marayed: and me thynketh whan the guynes come,
the seassonne of cheries is not come: and whanne the
newe wyne is tounned, the drye huskes are caste oute.
Canne ye luffre dyuers newewes, sonnes to your chyl-
drene in your house, and fewe yeres in your personnes?
Welcomme we see the fruyte and the flowre to gether: for
whanne the one is ripe and in season, the other is cleane
ripe and auoyded.

In this case I thynke meruayle, howe ye canne be of
twentie yeres, and seeme to be yonge. I knewe none other
yonge, but whanne ye marayed Lamberte your dough-
ter to Drusio, and Matryne your nyerce, daughter of
poinc daughter, with Lamberte, that were all lyttelle
and yonge chyldren: and sythe ye be of a good aege,
and lacke good, may gyue vnto eche of them twentye
yeres of your aege in stede of their dowrie. And soo ye
shall vnlaide you of yeres, and charge you with other
memes goodes and substaunce. No lesse this mattier
passeth in my thoughte, than the shoxte clothe dothe in a
talle weuers handes. Ye haue strayned it on the tentours,
and drawen hit on the perche for to lenghen the lyfe. If
it were made fayre clere cordwayners ware, and swete
smelle, that ye myghte be drawen out a lengthe, hit
were welle doone, but ye are but as fruyce of almondes.

Lemyng

sempynge dñe without, and worme eaten within. For the
 loue that I haue to you, and for neyghbourheud that ye
 haue had with me, I desyze styll frendshyppe of you, than
 lyke as I knewe you yonge and very yonge, so to knowe
 you olde and very olde. I say not that ye surmount in age,
 but your wytte surpaseth you. O Claudiuſ and Claudiuſ,
 I wylle ye knowe, that to susteyne youthe, and to deface
 age, to length the lyfe, and dñe away dethe: it is not in
 mennes handes that desire hit: it is the goddis that doo
 giue it, whiche accordanſe to iustyce and our couetyſe, gi-
 ueth vs lyfe by weighte, and deaſe without measure. Ye
 may knowe that our nature is corruption of our body, and
 our bodye is putrifaction of our wytte, and our wytte is
 gypde to our soule, and our soule is mother of our deſ-
 tes, and our deſtes are fleers of our youthe, & our youngh-
 token of our age, and our age ſyppre of our dethe, and dethe
 the house of our lyfe, wherin to youthe goeth on fote, and
 to age we canne not flee on hoys backe. I woldes wytte a
 thinge of you: what finde ye in this lyfe? wherfore doth
 lyfe content you after lxx. yeres of age? ryther ye haue
 ben good or yl: if ye haue bene good and vertuous, ye ſhal
 not reioyce you with yll goddis: if ye haue benne yll, than
 as well deſire dethe, to thentente ye ſhulde be no more yll:
 or els iuſtly ye might be ſlayn by iuſtice. For he þ hathē be-
 yll tyl ix. yeres of age, in him there is no hope of amend-
 mente. Whan the couragious great Pompeie, and Caſ-
 Cesat were ennemis, and beinge in cruell ciuil battayles,
 Rome was infamed, and theym ſelſe loſte. The annales
 shew, that ſuch as came in fauor of Julius Cesat came out
 of the west, and the ſuccours of Pompeie out of the eafe,
 amouge other there came certayne people oute of Barba-
 rie, dwellynge amouge þ mūtayns Riffes toward Inde:
 Their culoume was whan they came to thage of. l. yeres,

to make great fyres, and breyne them selfe quicke in sacri-
 ment to ther goddis, and the same day the parentes & chil-
 dren woulde make great feastes, and eate of the flesh he halfe
 roste, and drynche wyne with the ashes of the bones.
 This was sene with the eyes of Pompei, because that som
 accmplished the peeres of sykkyng in his camp. O golden
 yron, wherin were such men. O happy people, that in
 all the worldes to come, hath left such a memoire of them.
 They dispised the world, and forgaotte them selfe. What
 shone a gaued they to fortune! What delvies for the fleshys
 and holme lytell sette they by theyr lyues, and yet moare, to
 lesse small shone by dethe! O what vndevel was this for the
 vicious, and what hope for the vertuous, what confusion
 in them that loued this lyfe, and what ensample, not to
 haue dethe, haue they leste vs? And such they dispised their
 owne propre lyfe: it is then to be thought, that they died
 not to thentent to take other mens goodes, to thinke that
 mylfe never shal haue ende, therfore our countys never
 shal ende. O glorious people, and. &c. M. tynes blissted,
 haue lette their sensualite, and vanquished their naturall
 will, beleue not that pe se, but gyue fayth to that ye ne-
 ver sawe, as they that se nothyng go agaynst the fatal de-
 fencies: who gothe agaynste the waye of fortune, gyue a
 mynche to the lyfe, robbre the body at the dethe, wynne ho-
 nor of the goddis, not that they shulde length your lyfe,
 but to take the reste of the lyfe. Archagatus surgiens, and
 Anthontius the phisitien, and Esculapius the farther of me-
 dices, I thinke wanne but lyttelle in that lande.
 Who comandement these Barbariens to take syrope in the
 morning, and to take pyllies at night, and to refresche them
 with mylke, to take cire batly to anoynt theyr lpuers, to
 haue to be lette blode, and to mojowbe to take a purgation,
 mede one thing, and to adstepp fro many thinges? Than

Gg III

methynke that they beyng of l. pere of age, and you no
 less at the least shulde be egall with them in wylsdome.
 And if ye wyl not take vertu in good worth, yet arche leest
 amende the p[ro]lyfe. I rememb're wel of a long tyme, ther
 Faustus, our neybour wylled vs to beare of a moches
 tie, the whiche if it be not broken, there shal folowe gress
 dishonesty. And siche he shew'd me too good a tellon, I
 wyl pay you with the same money. I wyl shew'le it you,
 if ye poore aged folkes do not knowe it: ye be siche, that
 your eyes are bleared, your noses droppynge, your hea
 tes whyte, your herynge dull, your tongue faulterynge,
 your teethe waggyng, your face wrincled, your fete swol
 len, your shulders crooked, and your stomake distempered;
 finally if the graues coude speake, they myght ryghtfully
 calle for you to come, and inhabite in them. Of troubl is
 to great compassion to beholde yonge ignorance, that o
 pen their eies to knowe the infortunes of this lyfe, whan
 it is tyne to close them and to entre into the grane. And
 therof cometh that it is in hayne to give countesse to vaine
 yonge people: for youth is without experiance of that it
 doth, & is suspect of hit hereth, & will not belieue yis sayd,
 and disprayseth other men's coulse, & is ryght poore of their
 owne. And therfore I saye Claudiuſ and Claudyne my
 frendes, I fynde without comparision none so p[ro]le an ig
 norance of goodness, that holdeþe these yonge persones,
 as is the obstinacy of these aged persones in p[ro]le. The
 definition of p[ro]le, is a man not to knowe that he oughte to
 knowe, yet it is wors to haue the knowlge of wylsdome,
 and to lyue lyke a brute beaste. O pe olde gentyl people,
 ye forgette your selfe, and renne in post after the lyfe, and
 ye never regardre what shall falle, lyll ye be siche as ye
 holde not, and without power to retourn backe: & herof
 cometh, that ye lacke of lyfe, ye wyl suplye it with sor
 ghes.

Than

Item a boke ye that be flombyng, hane no force to slepe,
Item point sleep ries, and accustome you to do wel: Take
out to medfull so; your and finally appoynt you betimes
to deeth, so he make execusion of your lyfe. Item. petes
I haue knowen theym of the wozde, yet I coulde never
knowe none so old, nor so puttrified in their membres, but
that their hertes were hole to thinke unhappynes, & their
tonges hole to make lyes. Take heve pe poore olde per-
son, me thinke sith somer is past, pe hast forwarde with
outyme: and if ye tary a smalle season, yet ye make hast
to take lodgyng. I meane that though he haue pass the
nyg in the see with peril, the night of deeth wyll take you
withe perte of helthe. Mockes do passe with mockynghes,
and trouthe with trouthe: though I haue sene you ryghte
unge and hardy, nowe I se you very olde: Though he the
ryght passe his cours, yet it is not his faute if the horse
is not well reyned: but at the ende of his cours, he wylle
runne his horse: Let not that beggle you, that of custom
with degyled men: That is ye shalbe as wel esteemed ther-
ew, as though ye had moche moneye. I beleue ye folowe
yours, and yet they all haue envy at you. But trusse me,
that at the ende, honour is gyuen to a yonge person poore
& beryuous, rather than to an olde person riche & vicious.
The ryche may haue power to be more esteemed with poore
people, and accompanayd with ryche and covetous: but
the beryuous poore person shal be better esteemed and leſſe
hated. What can be greater confusyon to a persone, so
many shame to our mother Rome, than to ſe in diuers pla-
ces the old people behauie and appoynte theym as yonge
folys, as though they lyke the vayne leauies dyd newly bur-
ien? What thinge is it to ſee the olde persones nowe in
new dayes, bryarde and make bayre they; whiche heates,
burne and hembe their beares, weare straunge shawes,

Eg. II. their

their hosen gashed, their shantes frounced, their clokes of
 scarlette, their bagges emboidred, their chaines of golde
 about their neckes, fringes of gold and silver about their
 apparell, estrange fetheres vpon their hattes lyke gashes,
 perles and ringes on their syngers lyke Indiens, their
 golomes long lyke flamine prestes, and finally worst of al
 whan dethe hath gauen them day, than they ans were that
 newely they wyl serue a lady? O how many haue I knowen
 in Rome, that were highly renouned in their pouche,
 and after through wanton lyghtnesse they were but losse
 in their age: and worst of all, they loste their renoume in
 their age, and the fauour of their parentes, and the pro-
 fytte of their children. Certaynely Gaugyn Caton of the
 ancient lineage of the Catons was in Rome a priest of the
 law. v. pates, a prouost. iii. pates, and Censure. ii. pates, a
 dictator one pate, and Consule. v. tymes, & whan he was
 past the age of. xv. yeres, than he began to serue Rosana
 daughter of Gneus Lutcius, a ladye ryghte sayre a gonge
 and he doted so fache in her loue, that he spent all that he
 hadde to serue her, and wold wepe lyke a chyld whan he saw
 her. It fortuned this lady felly sycke of a feuer, and she laved
 to eate newe grapes, and it was in spynge tyme, wher
 ther was none ripe as than in Rome. He sent for some in
 the felde of Danubius, that was a .M. and. b. C. myle
 thenselv, and this was shewed to the senate, and they order-
 ed, that Rosana was closed in with the virgins vestales,
 and the old man was banyshed perpetually out of Rome,
 and his children lyued in greate pouertye, and the father
 dyed infame. I beleue that ye haue hereof of this, There
 were dyuers that repured for a greate bilanye the dede of
 the olde louer, and praysed the sentece of the senate. But
 I thinke if Gaugyn had had as many ponge persones in
 his banishment, as there were old amorous persons that
 toke

By hym example, I thinke there shuld not be so many
amorous, nor so many women so pl married. And therfore
the hole is, that such people, whanne they be warned by
their servantes, and repoued by their parentes, and des-
pised by their frendes, that they make not excuse a say, howe
they be not amorous but in mockery. Whan I was very
yong both of age & wyt, on a nyght I met with a neyghbor
smonyn rygh to the capitol. I was his newew & son to his
man, a lard to him. My lord Fabriktus ye are amorous
and thus; He answered me, I do it but for pastyme,
certainly I had mervayle to mete him at that houre, and
I was abashed of that answere that he gaue me. In these
days be soye aged and of sadness and greate sorwe suchे reque-
sts ought not to be called amours, but rather dolours,
not pastyme, but a losse tyme, no mockerie but a folyshe-
nes. For in loue with mockery foloweth the troubl of in-
tempe. To the Claudias and Claudine, I deauaide of
mouliche louers, what is it to be polshed and attred as
ye be so gayly, but the bōnde of the taverne, where thys
nothyng but vinegre, fayre egges & nothyng in them,
gote pylles and bitter in taste, an olde botell, and a newe
newell, a hole wounde rancid vnderneshe, the figure of
men to take partiches, as slypper way, where no fote is
sure, and fynally an olde louer is as a buynghe decayed,
whiche to lese money, a can helpe no man to penill. Of
mouch the old lecherous louer is as a swyne with a white
tred and a grene taylle. Than me thinkē ye that be my
frendes and neyghbours, ye take no heire in brykinge the
winges out of felon whan the fetheres be gone: and yet ye
myple me not, to say that there is tyme trounghe. Belene
me, that that maybe done in the day, leauie it not till the
nyght of your age. For the blunt knife cutteth but pl with
the edge, and he that is want for to rate the lesche, cannot

Gg.iii.

eate

22.

cate the boones. Then let us comune to the remedye to
 rebelle this bormmagd; that is, if the hōble beginne to
 fallie, shone and shape it not with pieces of slender sympis,
 but with streight yyllers of the lyfe, that we haue to yelbe
 the goddes, and to merity good fame. And if the bynes of
 all our vertues be redy to be gabered, at the least lete vs
 gather that is leste vs by understandynge. And siche the
 waters of our reste are wasted with our yll werkes, let
 vs water them with newe myght of good desires, and thā
 the good goddes myl be content with the seruices that we
 ought to do for the merites and rewardes that they do to
 vs, soo that if we desire to attayne golde for our wackes,
 yet to pay vs with the copper of our good desires. And fin-
 allie I say to you Claudius and Claudina, If ye haue ol-
 fered the meale of your yonthe to vices, offre nowe at this
 tym the brame of your age to the goddes. I haue written
 thus largely to you as I thinke: and bycause ye shall
 not be taken as cowardes, no; I for hacdy, giue no partie
 of this letter to any person.

¶ And I desire you to haue me recommended unto alle
 my neighbours in Rome, namely to Dianine the hono-
 rable widow. I send to the two thousande letters, thou
 shalte give a thousande of them to Faustina the dough-
 ter to thy daughter, I sende hit to her for a pleasure that
 she dide me at a feaste. Faustina my wife is very lycke.
 Thou shalte giue the other thousande to the Westale vir-
 gines, that they maye prate for her unto the goddes. To
 the Claudiine, Faustina my wife sendethe a coiffe; but
 by the goddes I canne not telle what therer is within it.
 Ande that ymbe aseyed, I desche the goddes to send you
 and me and my wife for to ende the reste of our daies in a
 good life. Marke your neyghbour and stende hath wi-
 sen this with his alone hande.

Letter

Letter sent fro March chempverour to Labinia a Romanis
widowe, for to comforte her for the deeth of her
husbande. The. letter,

Are of mounte Cetio, first Consule Ro-
main sent agenst þ Daces, to the Labi-
nia Roman lady, wife to my good fréde
Claudine, salute to the, & consolacion of þ
goddes consolatours. I think wel, thou
hast suspecte, þ I haue so heret seyng tho,
sith in thy profound and grevous hurtes
thy consolation hath ben sloutheful. But I remembre thy
mildenes, whiche can never faille: and my good wel, þ whi
me hath euer desired to serue the. I am in certeine that thy
greate vertue shulde put away the suspecte. Soþ thoughte
I am the laste to comforte the, yet I am the firsste that se-
uen thy dolours, and shal not be the laste to remedye thy
troubles. And in case that ignorance is the end of all vices,
esperance for al vices; as wel somtyme great pleasure
which away rest fro the wylle folkes, & scandaleth the immo-
rantes: moch better among vs latyns we synd with igno-
rance of vices, more thā the greces do with the knoylege
of virtues. If þ we be ignorant, we haue no peyne to abide
a mōz sorow to take it. I say it because I haue knowen, þ I
wolde not know, and that is, the traunayles ar at an ende of
Claudine thy husbande, & now beginneth the sorow of La-
binia. I haue knowen it certayn days, & wolde not discouer
it to þ, for it shuld haue bē cruelte. She þ hath ben in trou-
ble so longe a space with absence, þ I shuld haue givē kno-
wledge of the deeth of such an entierly desirid husband: as it had
been no reason, that she of whom I haue receyved so many
good dedis, shuld haue of me so pl̄l newes. And sith þ houc
I knew, that ye wylle therof, my peyne hath ben double.

I felē

sol

I sole his deeth, and nowe I sole in his deeth my solytaines, and thy desolation. Then haue reason to wepe, not for that he is with the goddes in teste, but for his myserable persons lyuinge in the power of soo many ylles, therfore we shalde not come to take peyne and sorowe. O Labinia, oftentimes I haue thoughte, for what thynge I myght fynde wepe, for the yll that lyueth, or for the good that dyeth. For as moche heurde the yll that is found, as the good that is loste. It is great peyne to see these innocentes dye, and surely it is no lesse peyne to se the malicious people lyue. But of that that of necessite muste medes come, whan it cometh we ought not to scoundre hit. Behelme me Labinia, doest thou not knowe of howe good conuersation the goddes be, to whom we hope to go, and howe yll the men be, with whom we are conuersant, that as the yl are borne to dye, in lyke lyule the good dyeth to lyue. For a good man alway lyueth in dyng, and the yll always dyeth in lyuyng. And than sith the goddes haue caused him to come to them, hit is noo great thynge that they haue taken fro the. I am in certayns thy desyred husban Claudyn, and my true frende, seing where he is, and remembryng what he hath escaped, had rather to be stille there as he is, than to returne agayn to the. Of trouthe remaynes for whoレス is not to thynke of anye company pasted, nor of the solytaines present, but to thinke of the rest that they hope to come to. If byther vno thou hast depe peyne, abidinge in thy house, nowe reioyce the bycause he abideth forth in his, for thou shalt be moche better entreated amounghe the goddes, than here amounghe men: no consent not to thynke that thou haſſe loſſe hym all onys. For syth we all reioyced of his lyfe, we are than bounde to wepe for his deeth. The greatest sorowe to a sycke herte amounghe all other sorowes, is to se other reioyce, at his de-

mister: and contrarie to þis, the greateſt ſteſt amouȝt all
 men of ſo ſume, is to ſe that other ſaileth their ſojourne
 in that my friend keepeth ſtoppēd with his endes; and aliothes
 endeth of my ſojourne, which ageth ſome what myne alio
 ſame peyne. The booke in the tyme of Auguſte the emperour
 ſaide the wech, how as he was noſte to the vycle of Ma
 rius, he founde a maner of people, hauyng this ca
 ſane: The ſame houre whan a hufande taketh a wifes
 ſpouuer, they wolde ſwere by their goddis names to be hel
 pous to weſe any maner of infortune, but to forget thei
 owne people troubles, and to dye to remedie them better,
 ſo in þe wife eche to do with other. O glorious wōſde,
 bright happy age, O people of eternall memořie, wher
 unto men were ſo humble, and their louers ſo true, that
 none forgette their owne loue, and depe for oþerwile
 none boynger. Come, O tyme pli ſpente: O lyfe pli ſpente
 now, O ſmall thoughte recheleſſe is in theſe daies, the
 menes preſente ſeparate from welthe, and auſſured without
 any helpyn capill, that men forgettynge that they be men, i
 name them ſelue to beaſtes! I lovere to graue the ſpife, and
 to dredge to take a wive my selfe: Then we perre to ſe me
 myngh, and I laugh to ſe the wepe. And thus without pena
 ce of any of vs we leſe, and we reioyce in leſyng of our
 ſame. By the lawe of an honeſte man I lovere to the Labo
 rers, if thy remedy lay in my handes, as thy ſorowe dothe
 weyp haſſe, thy priueſſe. weyping: ſo alio not hurt
 me, nor thy deuy and woſfull ſotpratines of thy halfeandee:
 Not iſt the thy remedy, and my deſire can not be accimpliſ
 hed, and that with deaſte, nor with them that be dead we
 haue no power: than remit it into the haunes of the god
 des; who can moche better helpe us thame we can chuse.
 In ſomme experiance natuſally, that ſomme ſpakenes to hea
 ſon by wordes, that he ſayd to vs, and ſomme ſpokenes
 that

that he departe to his; and some with woddes do leane: other
monkies. I say this, because the bantes that be in peyne
make use of shoughhes, somtyme comforted with shou-
fis from the person whiche than shoufides spoketh in
their eare: in another tyme the boordes here is more
content with woodes of astende, than with all other seru-
cours of the boordes. O how sorowfull am I, for in allethese
am I fauer, consideringe the highnesse of the honourable
lady veray, and the chivaltrie of me Dame of moud
Celi: I se my selfe so vntothe to comforthe her, and to re-
medy the blacke substance, I haue made the afores wond,
the whiche wold be taken in wrothe. I wyl not pape the
with pike and paper, that whiche I may do with my per-
son: for he that gyueth counsell with wordes, may tem-
pt with woddes, iſe the shewþer selfe a frend in tyme past
negatyon. In suspeſe to þis enemy in syne to come. If
þou hast reputid me byþerid for thy neigbour and pa-
tron to thy husbande. I praye the nowe to take me for thy
husbande in loue, and for thy father in counselle, and for
sonnes in successe, and for aduocacye in the fynale, to such
mēns that I hope thou shalys say, all that I haue losid in
many, I haue found in þere alone. And by cause that
in gryous conflyctes, where as chaste and subtyle is
forgetten, the understandyng is altered, and the reasones
þerewithal, þeram þere is as moche necessarie of good
counſell as of a wameynemy. Clodyne nō we deed was
my friende, but I Marialyn am his, and also by thy de-
seruyng þou mayst comande me what thou wylle: and for
þe lawe that I haue to the, thou mayst despise of
me any thang wondfull. I praye the aschewe the extremitie
of the Romayne kyndenes, for in all extremities dreyfe
þe bate, for alþe wertþ them selfe, a dreyfe the god-
des, and wileþ them that be alive, a do ne pfreſt to them that
þe be

be bere, but gyue suspension to her amys beth as wylle. But his
wife to noble Marc Merello, she stinge her husband bur-
ied in the felde of Mars, scrauched her visage, and tare
her heer, & brake her teeth, & at every pace swouned, & two
senatores held her by the armes, bycause she shuld not hurt
herselfe. Wha land flau? Censur, let her alone, for this
day she will follow the souciey of widowes, & so it was, for
whiles y the bones of Marcellio were a breninge, she was
intentynge to mary on other husband, & yet more to be noted,
one of the senatores helpe her, gave her his hande, as one
domain to another by perpetuall mariage. This rate was
to soule, take & of therym a grete calamite, & al the Ro-
mans there present were abashed, & were in suspeyt never
afraid to be leuyn widown in Rome. I say not this Labinia,
because thou Wolfe dothe for with goodly acts. Indede, she
the lyme of Marcia thich of ynglyndis respect, nor thy great age
will not suffre, nor the autorite of so sadne a matrone
will demande it. I require ther ryght hardy, forgette not
the honestie that ought to be in a Romayne woman, wch
mayte that is requisite in a lordesse; for if thou be a lvy
house of solytaynes, that thou selfe by hym that is dead
than comfort the of the reputation that is holden of the
them that be living. I wyl say no more to the at this time,
but that thy rendoun may be suche with all men, to cause
the be a brydell vpon theym that be ple, to cause them to
be ful; and to them that be good to gyue them sparcles to
brue the. And if ye wyl thus do, take no thought for any
besynes that ye haue in the senate. My wyfe Faustina
mythe, and oftentymes wepereth for this mysladuenture.
I send the money to pay thy creditous. The goddis that
have gyuen rest to Claudio thy husbande, gyue comfort
and consolacion to Labinia his wyfe. Marc of monte
Orto hath written this with his owne hande.

第111章 第三封信

Misteris farr by syngynghemperour to **Cyncline**:
-nd Crustis fronde, bycause he beinge a gentyl-
-man became a marchant. whiche in our
-days, darrow I am. **The bitt letter**, as wyl discouer, resul-
-tation on entill self shalbod, shalbe tolde and shalbe acorded



Marcus Cenſure, to the Cinclatus
of Capue ſende ſalutation for thy per-
ſon, force and vertue ayenſt ſinifer fortune. Syth the feaſt Veresonte, modeſ
of the goddis. I haue ſene no ſeruaunte
of thy houſe, no letter of thy hand, that
I haue reſide, the whiche putteh me in
great iuſpition of thy helthe, and that thou arte in ſome
perill; or els thou diſcraphſe our amitie. Wylchareginge
me thy ſelfe with loſytell thoughte, no; forgette vs not
with ſo geat iuſhelinge: for thy traualle can haue beſo
moche in boſſinge, as it ſhuld be conſolation to me to rede
thy letters, and if thy hanDEL ware ſlowe frome traualle
of boſſinge, yet enforſe myn haſte for myn eaſe, wherin is
firmitauſe of leſte frendes. In that I wyl put the few an-
noyance; and thou to do me pleaſure: thou knowest wel
the amitie diuauice that is betwene Capue and mount O-
no. Was not the cauſe of our frenchedypp, but the ſpace
bens to Illitice ſhuld not cauſe vs to de ſtraungers. The
deſtinate wynes ſent out of theyr owne countrey to ſtraun-
gers take the greater myghte; and the ferther that the per-
ſons of true frenches be ſeparate, the ſooner they ought to
vnyce & toynē together their myndes. Shew me I pray þ
Cyncline, byth thou haſt ever founde me truce, why haſte
thou any ſuſpekte of my deſpre? The grene leues outward
shewethe, that the tree is not dyke inwarde: and the good
wettes openly notideth the inwarde haſt ſecretly. Where
it is not perſee, therell alwaſs beaſtlyng and layſyng in
ſecreyte.

innes: for he that per sydly loueth, perpetually and fayth-
fully serueth: And I am as moche astouted of thy slouth,
in demaundynge somwhat of me, as of thy cowardyse to
wite. I myl confess to the one trouthe, if thou haddest
moche hardynes as wyl and thought of the smalle es-
sence of my letter myght satisfye to the greatenes of thyn
understandyng, it shulde abyde than so; p[er] done, but not
by shorte, as he that throuweth his speare. In tyme past
than I was yonge, & thou olde, thou in thy counsayles,
with my money eche gaue to other: but at this houre
thy heid is whyte, men reken the to be olde, & yet thy
wythes accuse the to be yonge. Reasons is that I succour
thy poorete with money, & to remedy thy lyghtenes with
mentell. For the good wyl that I haue to the, and so; the
me of amitie that I owe to the, I wyll aduertise the as
chettous man ought to do: and that is to remembra the
benefices that he hath receyued, and to forget the infirmitie
tyme to hym: esteme moche his owne fiamle power, and
holde the greatnes of other at nothyng: fauour the good,
and dissimule with the evill: be great with the greatest,
and communicable with yout inferiours: presentiye doo
goodedes, and also of them that be absent speake good
wordes: The greuous losses of fortune, holde theym in
small estimation, and the small losse of honour, holde that
in great estimation, so; one thyng aduenture not money,
and so; dyuers doubtfull aduenture not a certaintie: and
finally be frende to one and ennemie to none. These thin-
ges ought he to haue, that amonge good wyl be accom-
pyng good. I knowe well thou hast lefft to be pretour of the
warre, and nowe thou hast sette thy selfe by lande and by
seale marchandyse. Thou makest me soze abashed, to
conquerre thyn enmies as a Romayn, and nowe to take on
the the office, to persecute thy frendes as a tyrant. Wryte
vij.iii, thou

thou do yll to thy neigbours, and leane the straungers
 whyle thou take away the luynges fro hym that gryeth
 luyng, & take away the deth fro him that takith away the
 life: wyl thou to them that be mouers, and straungers gyn
 moderation, & fro them that be sorre take away their rese.
 Thou wyl gyne to them that take away fro vs, and take
 fro them that gyue vs: delver them that be condeyned,
 and condempne innocentes. Thou wylt be tiraunt to the
 common welthe, and not defensore of thy countrey. That
 lith to all this he aduentureth hym that leaueth dedes of
 armes, and becometh a marchaunte: I study soore what
 hath meued the to leave chivalrie, wherin thou haſte had
 great honoure, and no we to take on the an office, wherby
 foloweth so moche shame and rebuke. Wherpe I thynke
 in the none other excuse, but that thou art vnde, and canst
 not clyme the mountaignes, and more than synteke stylle
 and robbest the plapins. To olde men olde malady, whas
 outward syze taileth theym, than forthwith they arm
 them with malycie in warde. I say it by the soore couetouse
 persons as thou art now. One thinge I wyl say, thou hast
 taken an office, wherby al thy felowes haue robbed in dy-
 uers dais, thou shalte gyue occompt thereof in one houre,
 pe and after the tyme shall come, that thou shalt lese al in
 a moment. Soz the goddes permitt that one shall be a cha-
 stisement of diuers, and longe tyme chastiseth all. Howe
 is it my frende Cyncynate, that in the house of thy fathur
 Cincinate were speares, and not wrynges hangunge: I
 haue sene his halle full of armure, and not of fardels: and
 portall and gates ful of knyghtes, & not marchantis. Cer-
 taplythera haue I sene the scole of noblenes, and not as
 it is now the denne of thenes. O Cincinate, cursed be so hi
 layn an office, the marchatis lwe porly to die ryche: a let
 vs say agayn, cursed be it, bycause the couetyse of one that
 is il,

well, shalde be accomplished to the preuidice of many
men: I wyl not hurtis the by thy p^redecessours, but
I shalurise the of thy myserie and of thy successours. If
my chynk best, b^t thy vertue shalde holde to the ende of the
world, as the world holdeþ to the, as it semethe by thy
wite heares, holde me excused of the trauayll in perswas-
yng the to here me. How be it, it is reson that the gate of
þynges a cause be knocked at with the hamer of som war-
ranyng, to bring it to good reson, of necessarie it must passe
þemplice: and to make cleare the vnderstanding from tyms
to tyme, of very nede therer requireth counsel. Divers ty-
pes of wise men sayle because they wold sayle, but if the thin-
ges be of liche qualite, that wisedom suffiseth not to al-
methem, than it is nedeful, that his wyl be untied, and
þe understandinge dissolved, and his owne propre oppo-
sition boyde, and than incontynente to take a thred to the
myre of an other. Take good heede Cincinate, whereto as
foundacions be not wel edified, the buildynges ar in pa-
re. The dungeon of this world, wherin we children of ha-
nado abyde, is founded on the sande. For let it be ne-
re sumptuous, yet a lytell blase of wynde wyl cause
us shake, and a lyttel heate of prosperite wyl open it,
as a lyttel carne of aduersitie wyl diuide it, and with-
in short whyle or space, whan we least take heede, it wyl lie
vile and flatte on the erthe. If the pillars be of syluer, and
bunches of gold, and though the benchers be kynges, and
antonyne thousand pere, a rule into the entrayles of the
chyrche þer they can fynde no stedfaste rocke nor mountayne,
wherin to cloose the goodes of their p^redecessours, and
þer chautes perpetual. The goddis immortall haue made
þinges communicable to me mortall, except immortallitez
þerof they be called immortall, because they never dy, a we
callid mortall and falyng, because we al take an ende.

How

Howe stonge so erer the walleſ be, yet great age crufch
 it to fall to talle. Two thynges ſemeth to be ſee, the whi-
 che fortune can not ſet abacke, nor the tyne caufe to be for-
 gotten, & they be theſe: The good v̄ pli riouime amoung
 men, and the peyne oꝫ rewarde that they that be good or
 yle haue of the goddis. O my frende Cincinate, thus a-
 cheueth the perſones, but the goddis neuer. What grete
 or iſſe oꝫ rocten holdeth any ſeaſon the ſtrypce of the tree
 bloured? I leſeme it nothinge þycaſe it muſte dye by na-
 ture. Howe be it dyuers tymeſ in leaues and flowrieſ we
 beare the froſt of ſome maladie, oꝫ the blaſt of ſome enu-
 ious miſhappe. Longe is the webbe in makinge: but that
 is made in many daies, is cut a ſonder in a moment. Sem-
 blably it is a pitous thyngē to ſe a man dye with ſo greate
 traualple, and to be ſette in the ſtate of honour, and after
 whan we, neyther regardynge the one nor the other, and
 yet we ſe it periſh. And without any memorie of any thiŋg
 holdinge. O my frende Cincinate, for the loue betwene
 vs I pray the, and by the immixtal goddes I coniure the,
 beliue not the woſde, the whiche vnder the colour of a ly-
 tolle golde, hydeth moche hylchynes, and vnder colour of
 trouthe chaungeſt vs into a. M. lyſes, and for a ſhort de-
 lyte gyueth vs a. M. diſpleaſures. To them whom it ſhe-
 iueth moche loue, it begieth with greateſt tromperies: to
 whom the woſde giueth moche goodes, it procureth moſt
 domaiges: to them that ſerveth it with mockeries, hit re-
 wardeth with true recompences: and to them that loue it
 truly, it giueſt them goodes of mockeries: finally whan
 we ſelle moſtke ſureſt, it waketh vs with greateſt perylle.
 What wylle thou ſay than of the woſde, ſhewe me! One
 thyngē I wylle tell the, and me thinkē thou thuldest not
 forgette it: and that is, men oughte not delur the hapne-
 vanies that we ſe with our eies, rather than the greateſt
 mis-
UMI

metuaples that we here with our eyes. One thing I haue
regarded, and by longe experiance I haue knownen it, that
out a fewe houses paynted no; stalkes reyzed by we haue
ane in Rome: but of a small tyme they take noo thoughts
to the walles, but they haue cruelle enmities with theyz
nighbours, and great anoye of their heires, and impo-
tuate shame of theyz stendes, and double malyce of their
ennemis, and enuyous proufite in þ senat, & somtyme to
put a gouernour out of possession they set foute in honor:
and finally all that with great thought haue be gathered
þ theyz chylde, whom they loue wel with great rest, some
time an other heire enioyeth it, of whom they thinke leest.
It is a suspesence, that suche as begyle dyuers with yl-
edes in their lyfe, shuld be begiled of theyz bayn thought-
es at their deth. Cruel shulde the goddis be, and ryghte-
ious fo; men to suffre, that the yll that hath gathered
þ one heire in the preuidice of dyuers þ be good, shoulde
mope it many yeres. Me thinke it shulde be a souetayne
ly to be boorne wepynge, to dye sighyng, and to lyue
laughyng. The rule to gouerne all partes ought to be e-
gall. O Cincinate, who hath begyled the, that fo; a potte
full of water, thou haste nede of a greatt laake of this
woylde to passe this wretched lyfe? wylt thou flee away the
smyne of thy handes with the corde of thoughtes, breaKE
thy body in batayle with greate trauaple, and aduenture
thy honour fo; one potte of water? What wylt thou
more that I shulde say: but that to fyl a potte of thy goo-
des thou wylt suffre a M. perylls. And in the byle exer-
cysinge of thy marchandyse, thou doubtest not fo; lesing
of thy credence. And fynally I sweare to the, thou shalte
wyde deed fo; thurste, as though there were no water in
the feldes. If thou wylt do by my counsayle, desyre death
of the goddes, to restre the as an aged wylde man: and de-

It

maunde

maunde not rychesse to lyue yll as a yonge foole. I haue
soore wepte so many, that I haue seen in Romes departed
out of this wold, and soz the I haue wepte droppes of
bloude, to se the returns newly & bylely to the wold. My
amytie and the credite of the senate, the bloud of thy pre-
decessours, the auctoritie of thy person, and the honour of
the countrey ought to restrayne thy couertousenesse. Oh
frende, thy whyte heares sheweth honour and wisedome,
the whiche shuld exercise and be occupied in noble dedes.
Regarde, it auayleth more to folowe reason by the wayes
of them that be good, than the comyn opinion, whiche is
the large way of theym that be yll. Soz thoughe the oue
be strayte soz the fete, it releth no dulse soz to blynd the
eyes as the other dooth, to lyght yonge personnes, whiche
procure lyghtnesse: ygnoraunce excuseth theym, but the
disordinate couetise of the olde persones causeth theym to
occupye theyr lyfe with trauayle, and to take deathe with
great annoyance, and in the one as welle as in the other
abydeth greate infamy. O Cincinat take this counsell
of a frende: Charge not thy selfe with takinge of these
hayne goodes, sith thou haste so smalle a moxelle of thy
lyfe. Soz suche as thou arte, we se consume, and waste,
and not to quicken: put no trust in frendes in the presente
prosperitie, soz it is a pronostication of an euylle fortune.
And sith thou arte in a hasarde lyke a foole, me thynke
thou oughtest to discende a fote lyke a sage persone. And
thus every man wyll saye, howe Cincynate is discended
and not fallen: I wyll say no more, but the goddes be thy
sauegarde, and defende bothe the and me from gylefull
fortune. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and she is with-
drawen from me bycause I wrote this letter to the, and
hath conured me to write this wold to the, that is, she
sayth thou oughteste to haue witt when thy necke is full

sheare, and I thynde thou oughtesse in continente to
take a barber & shawe away the heare, that thy wytte may
come forth. I wolde thy couetyse shoulde forfiske the, and
slove faustin, and the gowte me, & the sooner our soules
may departe fro our fleshe, than gile shuld remayne in our
bordes. Marc of mont Celio wryteth this with his hande.

CLetter sente fro Marc the emperour to Catulus
censorius, that was sorrowful for the deth
of his sonne Verissimus.

The. viii. letter.

Marc censure newe and yonge, salute and reue-
rence to the Catulus censorius olde and aum-
ciente. I haue written two letters to the, and
thou haste made aunswere to none of theym.
If it be bycause thou couldest not, I holde my peace : If
it be bycause thou woldest not, than I complayne me : If
it be for forgetfulnes, than I accuse the : If it be bycause
thou setteste lyttelle by me, than I appeale the : If thou
hast dreamed, that thou haste wrytten, I saye beleue not
in dreames : And if thou wylte not it shulde bayle to glo-
ryme as a frende, yet thou myghtest take it write in ad-
uertisinge & repreyng as the father to the son. Yong be-
twous persons are bounde to honour auncient wise men,
no lesse old wyse men ought to endoctrine the yong peo-
ple and very yonge, as I am. A iuste thynge it is, that the
new forces of yOUTH supply & serue them that are worne by
age. For they; longe experiance mocketh our tender age &
natural ignorance. yOUTH is yl applied, when it surmōteth
the force of the body, & faylith the vertues of the soule : A
age is honored, wherin the force dyeth outwardē, wherby
vertues quickneth the more inwardē. we may se the tre whe-
the fruite is gadered the leues fal, and when flowers dry,

J. II. than

than more grene and perfyte are the rotes. I meane that whan the first seson of youth is passed, whiche is the Sommer tyme, than cometh aye called wynter, and puttifieth the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour falle, and the floures of delyte are wyddered, & the bynes of hope dryed outwarde, than it is right, that moche better the rotes of good workes within be good. They that be old and auncient ought to prayse their good werkes rather than their white heates. For honour ought to be gyuen for the good lyfe, and not for the whyte heade. Gloriosous is that common welthe, and fortunate is that p^rince, that is lord of yonge men to trauayle, and ancient persons to couell. As to regard the suspeynyng of the naturalitie of the life, in lykewise ought to be consideryd the polycie of gouernance, the whiche is that al the frutes come noȝt drie nor al at ones, but whan one beginneth an other fayleth. And in this maner pe that be auncient teachynge vs, and we obdient, as olde fathers and yonge pullettes, beinge in the neste of the senate: Of some their fethers fallyng, and other yonge fethered: and where as the olde fathers can not flye, their trauayles are maynteyned by their tender chyldryen. Frende Catulus, I purposed not to w^rite one lyne this yere, bycause my penne was troubled with thy slouthe: but the smallenesse of my spirite, and the greate peryl of myn offices always called on me to demande thy counsell. This p^rivilege the olde wise men holde in their houses where they dwelle: They are alwayes lordes over them that be sympyle, and are sclaves to them that be wyse. I thynke thou haste forgotten me, thinkyng that sythe the dethe of my dere sonne Verissimus, the tyme hath ben so longe, that I shulde forgette it. Thou hast occasion to thynke so, for many thynges tenneth in tyme, that reason can not helpe. But in this case I can not tel whiche is the greatest

greatest, thy trumperie of my dolour. I swere to the by
the goddis immortall, that the hungry wormes in the en-
maples of the unhappy chylde, are not so pulsant, as are
the cruell dolours in the harte of the fathet soze wounded.
And it is no comparison, for the son is deed but one tyme,
þe heuy fathet dieth every moment. What wile thou more
that I shulde say? but that one ought to haue envy of his
deth, & compasſion of my lyfe, because in dienge he liueth, &
in lyuynge I dye. In þy fortunes in case of lyfe, & in þy sub-
þypl aduersites of fortune, where as her gyles profiteth but
lytell, and her strength lesse, I thinke the beste remedye
is to fele it as a man, and dissimule it as discrete and wise.
If alle thinges as they be felte at harte shulde be shewed
outwarde with the tonge, I thinke that the wyndes shuld
brake the harte with lighinges, and water alle the erthe
with wepyng. O if the corporall eies sawe the herte of
þwart with a true woud I swere to the, there they shuld se
more of a droppe of bloudde sweatynge within, thanne all
the wepyng that is made outwarde. There is no compa-
rison of the great dolours of the bodys, to the leest peyne
that the spirite feleth. For all traunayle of the body, menne
maye fynde some remedy, but if the heuy hart speake, it is
not harde: if it wepe, it is not sene: if it complayne, hit is
not beleued. What shall the poore harte do? Abhorre the
lyfe, wherwith it dieth: & desire deth, wherwith it lyueth.
The high vertues amonoge noble vertuous people con-
synche not al only to suffre ths passions of the body, but also
to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that alter
the humours, and shewe hit not outwarde: They bringe
a feuer withoute alterynge the poule: They alter the
comake: They make vs to knele to the erthe, to suffer the
water by to the mouth, & to take death with out leauynge
of the lyfe: And fynally they lengthe our lyfe, to thentente
It. iii. that

that we shulde haue the moare traunaylle, and denþethe vs
our sepulture, to thentente that we shulde not rest vs.
But consideringe, if I be troubled with tribulations, as
well am I lette with cosolations. For ever I haue eyther
Delire of the one, or werynes of the other. I take this
remedye to dissimule with the tongue, and to wepe with
the ries, and to sele it with my harte. I passe my lyfe, as
he that hopethe to lese all that he hathe, and never to re-
uer that is lost: I say this, though ye se me not now make
funerall weynges and waylynges, as I dyd at the beth
of my sonne, yet thynke not but it doth brenne my harte, so
that with the inwarde greatare heate is consumed the hu-
muditie of the ries outward, for it brennethe all my spy-
rites inwarde. Thou mayste knowe what an honoura-
ble fater suffrethe to lese a good chylde: In all chynges
the goddes be lyberall, excepte in gyuynge vs vertuous
chyldyn: Where there is aboundinge of great estates,
there is greatest scarstie of good inheritours. It is a
great hurte to here, and greater to see, how these fathers
clyme to haue ryches, and to see their chyldyn discende to
haue bycousenes: To see the fathers honout theyz chyl-
dyn, and the chyldyn to infame their fathers, yea and
the fathers to gyue rest to their chyldyn, and the chyldyn
to gyue trouble to their olde fathers, yea and sometyme
the faders dye for soþoþe that theyz chyldyn dye so soone,
and we se the chyldyn wepe because theyr fathers dye so
late. What shulde I saye more, but that the honour and
ryches that the fathers haue pþocured with gret thought,
the chyldyn lose with lyttell care. I am certayne of one
thyng, that the fathers may gather ryches with strength
and crasfe, to susþyne theyz chyldyn, but the goddes will
not haue durable that that is begon with ewyll intention,
and is founded to the preiudice of other, and is possessed
with

with an evyl heyre. And though the hevy destynyes of the
godes permit, that the riches be left to their childre to serue
them in all their vices for they; passyng, at last according
to their merytes, the goddes wyl that the heyre & heretage
quide peryshe. Marke what I sayes, I had two sonnes,
namode & the prince Verissimus, the yonger is dead, that
was greatest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the
good liued, I shuld be poore: & nowe that þ yl remaineth,
I thinke to be ryche. I shall shew the why, the goddes are
so pessful, that to a poore fader they never giue yl child: &
to a riche fader they never giue a good child. And as in al
prosperite alway there falleth some sinester fortune, eyther
none or late, so therwith fortune doth atme & appatell vs,
wherin she leeth we shal fal to our grettest hury. And ther-
fore the goddes permit, that the couetous faders in gade-
wyng with great trauayle shuld die with that hury, to leue
their riches to their vicious childre yll implied. I wepe as
much for my chyld þ the goddes haue left me, as for him þ
they haue taken fro me. For the small esteme of hym that
nether maketh immortall memory of hym þ is deed. They
nether maketh immortall memory of them that liue, cause vs to syghe for the
company of them that be dead. The yll is alwaye delyred
in his ilnes to be dead, & the good alway meriteth to haue
his deeth bewayled. I say my frend Catulus, I thought to
haue lost my wit, whā I sawe my son Verissime die: but I
take comfort ayen: for eyther he of me, or I of hym must le
the ende. Considerings þ the goddes did but lend him to me
I gaue hym not, & how they be inheritors, & I to haue the
use of the fruit. For al thing is mesured by the tust wil of þ
goddes, & not by our disordinate wils & appetites. I think
when they toke away from me my childe, I restored him
wan oþer, and not that they haue taken myne. But sith
it is the wyll of the goddes to gyue rest to the good childe,
and

and hurte the fater bycause he is yll, I yeilde thanked to
them: for the seaseone that they haue suffred me to enioy
his lyfe: And for the pacience that I haue take for his de-
the, I desyre them to mytigate therwith the chastrisement
of their yre. And I desyre, lyche they haue taken away
the lyfe fro this chylde, to cause good customes to be in
the pynce myn other sonne. I knowe what heuynesse
thou hast take in Rome for my sorowe. I praye to the god-
des to lende the toy, of thy chyldyn, & that I may reward
the with some toye, for that thou haste wept for my peyne.
My wyfe Faustyn saluteth the: and thou woldeste haue
copassion to se her: for she wepeth with her eyes, & sygh-
eth with her harte, and with her handes hurreth her selfe,
and curseth with her tonge. She eateth nothyng on the
daye, nor sleepeth in the nyghte. She loueth derkenes, and
abhorreth lyght, and therof I haue no meruayle: for this
reasone, that for that was nourished in her entrayles, she
shulde fele sorowe in the same. And the loue of the mother
is soo stronge thougher her chylde be dead and lapde in se-
pulture, yet alwayes she hath hym quycke in her herte. It
is a general rule, that the person that is enterly beloued,
causeth ever great grefe at the deth. And as for me I passe
the lyfe ryghte sorowfully: thougher I shewe a toyful face,
yet I want myth at my harte. And amonge wyle men be-
yng sorowlfull, and shewyng theyr faces myry, is none
other thynge but burienge the quycke hauyng no sepul-
ture. And I sweare by the goddes immortal I fele moche
more than I haue sayd. And dyuers tymes me thynke I
shuld fal downe, bycause I dare not wepe with myn eies,
yet I fele it inwardely. I wolde sayne compyn with the in
dyuers thynges. Come I praye the to Wyette, to thent
that we maye speake together. And sythe it hathe pleased
the goddes to take my chylde fro me, that I loued so well.

I woldcouncell with the that arte my louyng friend. But
vndayes passed there came hyther an ambassadour fro
the Rodes, to whome I gaue the mooste parte of my hys-
ter; & fro the forthest part of Spayne there were brought
me. biii. of whiche I lende the. iiiii. I wolde they were su-
methas myghte please the. The goddes be thy safegarde,
and lende me and my wyse some lye. Marcus Aurelius
right sorrowfull hath wryten this with his owne hande.

CA letter sente by Marc the emperour to
Marcutino being at Sannye now
called Venaunte.

The. iij. letter.



Y spcialle frende and auncyente com-
panion, a messenger of thyne, & a lackey
of myne wente out to gether at Capue,
the one bare my desyre and affection to
the, and the other broughte a letter to
me. And if thou loke well, thou mayste
se my harte as full of thoughtes, as I se
my letter full of complayntes. Thou dost send to coumfort
me in my feuer tercpan, I thanke the greatly therof, and
it is come in a good season. So the goynge of the feuer
out of my poulse, and the roye of thy letter to my sprite is
allone. And surely if this case be leste in my hande, and
that my feuer retourne not, than thy consolatiō shal serue.
Lo beholde the mesery of man, that presumethe to take a
my realmes from other, & yet can not take the feuer oute
of my bones. Thou knowest well, that we loue togeder,
and of a longe season thyne amyte hath trusted in me. My
mouthe byndethe me, that thyne yles shoulde be myne,
and my goodes thyne. And there is newe loue, where be

two bodyes seperate, & but one harte together. And there
 is but a bytter loue, where the hartes be as ferre asonder,
 as the straungenes of theyr personnes. Take heede I praye
 the, that our loue be not inuentred with vnkyndes, nor
 our remembraunce empoysoned with smalle thoughtes,
 and I being an other then thou arte here, & thou bringa-
 nother than I am there, in maner that myne absence with
 thy presence, & my presence with thy absence may speke to
 gether. Thy messager hath shewed me the losse of thy goo-
 des, and by thy letter I knowe the anguysshe of thy per-
 sonne. And it hath ben shewed me, that thou haste hadde
 a shyppe perlyshed, and that thy factours lyke wylle men,
 to saue theyr personnes dydde throuwe thy marchandise in
 to the see. Me thynke thy shyppe hathe eased the of thy
 charge. But I thynke, as it semeth by the, they threw not
 so many fardels in to the see, as thoughtis into thy harte.
 And accordyng as thou were before, I shoulde be more
 bounde to serche for thy leade and tynne, thanne for thy
 harte. Thy leade is sonken to the bottome, but thy coun-
 celle is spred abroide ouer all the woorlde. If thou shuld-
 deste nowe dye, and thy bodye be opened, of trouthe I
 thynke, that thy hart shuld be rather found drowned with
 thy leade, than alyue with thy bodye. O Mercurius, at
 this houre thou selest no malady of any feuer tertian, as
 I doo, for the harte of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy
 spirite causeth the to haue a quartayne. And this evill is
 not in the body, but in the shyppe, nat on the exche, but in
 the see: Not with phisicions, but philosophers. I counsel
 the to seke helth: For there thy lyfe is drowned where thy
 leade is sonken. Be not angrye, for though thou haste
 not thy lead with the, thy lead hath the with it. Ofte times
 auarice leketh out the auaricious, and somtyme the auar-
 ious leketh auarice. It is shewed me, thou arte soþy, by
cause

cause thy domage can haue no remedye: & doest thou not
 know, that where no remedye is, thou oughtest to take pa-
 tience? O Mercurius, nowe thou knowest, þ whan thou
 middest aduenture thy goodes to the suspicio[n]ous rockes,
 and thy desyres to the depe waues of the see, and thy cou-
 racious auarice to the impotunite wyndes, & thy leed to
 braunge waters, and as toyous and desirous as thy fa-
 mous went forth in trusfe ofwynninge, as moche nowe
 thou arte sure of the losse: and thus is thy desire drowned,
 and thy hope scaped. Doest thou not remembre, that Ho-
 states castinge in to the see not leade but golde, not a ly-
 tell, but a great deale, not goodes of other mennes, but of
 his owne, not by fortune, but by his wylsdome, sayinge,
 I wyl drown these gylefull richesses, to thentente that
 they shall not drown me: but I thinke if a man shoulde
 in the do so, he shoulde here the saye: O my swete ry-
 messes, I had rather drown my selfe than other shoulde
 drown you: This aunciente wise man durst not trusfe
 in golde, and thou wilte trusfe on leade: caste lottes a-
 monge your goddis, he of Athenes and thou of Rome,
 whiche of you hathe most failed, or elles is most assured:
 he that caste his golde from the erthe into the see, or thou
 that woldest bryng thy leade out of the see vpon the erthe
 I knowe that the aunciente Romayns wil say it is he, and
 the present couetous folke will saye, it is thy selfe, and I
 thinke in this thou art dispraised in the prayse therof, & þ
 appraised is alowd of all men. Thy messager told me, þ
 thou were righte sorie and hevy, & criest out in the nyght,
 callinge on thy goddis, & wakest thy neighbours, complai-
 nynge on fortune. I am sorie displeased for thy heuines,
 because sorow is nexte stende to thy solitarines, & enmie to
 company, & heire of desperation. I am sorie for thy crienges
 in the night: for it induseth foly. For the nighte coueringe

alle the wroldē with derknes, thou alone wylte discouer
 thy hart with crienges. I am not plesed, that thou calleſt
 vpon the goddes, bycause they haue taken ſome thyng fro
 the: bycause thou were alſo, they haue brought the lower.
 Nor I am not pleased, that thou awakest thy neighbours
 for thy tyches that cauſed them to enuyethe, thy pacience
 shuld moue them to compassion. Nor I am not content, that
 thou ſhuldest ſo complayn on fortune, for the thyng ſo wel
 knownen of many, ſhulde not be infamed by one alone. O
 Mercurius rememb're, þ with the, with whom truce is take,
 thou wylt entre agayn in to the feld of defacie. We vnbēd
 & thou wylt ſpend thy ſperes. Thou neuer camest into the
 felde, and yet thou woldest enjoy the triumphe. All be ſtop
 ped, & thou woldest paſſe ſurely. Thou yeldest thy ſelle to
 fortune: and doest thou not knowe, how ſhe beteth down
 the hygh walles, and defendeth the olde roten houses, &
 peopleth where there lacketh people, & vnpopeleth where
 as people be? Of enmyes ſhe maketh frendes, and of fren
 des enmyes, and diſpoileth the vanquifers, & crowneth them
 that be ouercome. Of traytors ſhe maketh trewe
 men, and trewe men ſhe maketh ſuspecte personnes. And
 fyndally fortune is ſuche a mayſtresse, that ſhe ruleth real
 mes, ouercommeth armes, beateth downe kynges, exalteſt
 thytauntes, to the deed gryueth lyfe, and to ſomme re
 noume, and to ſomme shame. Why ſyckest thou to her?
 Doest thou not rememb're the wordes that the kyng of the
 Lacedemoniens hadde at his gate, ſayenge, This is the
 houſe of the puttynge downe of fortune. In good ſoothe
 theſe were hyghe wordes and of greacie vnderſtandynge,
 he knewe fortune moche better than thou, ſith he tekeneth
 his houſe at fortunes diſpoſitions, and not for enheritaſe,
 and if he hadde loſte any thyng, as thou haſte doone, he
 thoughte that ſhe restored it to other as theyſ, and had
 not

not taken his Reason holdeþe confidence to argue thy
season by that she deposeth the fro thy heþghe to be an
winter: for he that lyueth heþteth deaþe, and not deaþ,
the lyfe, for all dyeth, and it heþteth al in they; life. Wylle
þou take vengeaunce of that hath giuen the so moch pein?
þerfore take this councel: be frende to fortunes enmy,
þe whiche is the gracie: Ouer them that be boþe, & not
over them that dyeth is her empyre. O howe many great
imdes haue ben the thoughtes of thy harte, soo as many
immes shalbe in thyn entrayles: what greater victory
maye be, than she that ouercomethe al lyuers, shalbe van-
quished of the all onely by dethe. I say one thinge to the,
that all onely he that is closed in his graue, is assured of
all thynges of this lyfe. Thy messager shewed me, that
þis sommer thou woldest come to Rome, and nowe that
it is wynter, thou wylte sayle in to Alexandrye. O my
ende Mercurio, whan thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou
myngnest to be auaritious. Thou shalt fynde two cities
in this woþde in two extrempes, Rome the heed of vice,
and Alexandria the ende of all vertues. I say of thy mer-
candyse, in Rome thou dooste charge thy bodye with
vices, and in Alexandria thy harte with thoughtes. I
shere by the oþe of a iust man, that thou shalt haue more
asyde of that thou leauest, then contention of that thou
haerest away. Thou remembreste not, howe it is wynter,
and thou muste passe the see, and but if the pylotes lye to
me, the calme season mooste sure is the vygill of the moze
inffortune. Thou wylt saye, thy shypes be boyde, & ther-
fore they shal goo more surely, I beleue they shal goo
more charged with auarice, þaþ they shal come with silke.
O what a good chaunge shall it be, if the auarice of Ita-
lympghe be chaunged so; silke of Alexandria. I knowe
surely they; silke wyl lade a shyppe, and our auarice will
lade

Bk. iii.

lade

lave a hole flete. Great is that couylste, whiche the shame
 of the wrold doothe not represe, nor the feare of death
 stoppe, nor reason appoynt. I say it, bycause that he whi-
 che in such a tyme offret hym selfe to peryl, ether cou-
 tyse surmountethe hym, or elles understandyng eaylethe
 hym. And bycause I can fynde none other excuse suffisant
 to excuse me to the, but that thou arte as moche knowne
 by the see, as unknownen to the goddis, that is the vnsa-
 ble waues knoweth the wicked harte and vnresfull, and
 the harde roches vncly men: and one wynd knoweth an
 other wynde. I praye the shewe me, what thou wylte goo
 seche? Wylt thou go in to the gulf of Arpino so; to seke
 thy leade? Chan take hede and thynke how the sythe hath
 eaten thy hard lead, and let them not eate thy softe flesh. Thou
 wylte peraduenture go seke thy goodes with peryl
 of thy lyfe, and to leave renowme at thy deathe. I knowe
 thou not, that suche renowme is a salue so; a rewme, a
 baume so; a swochnig, lyght to a blyd person, a myghtin-
 gale to the deafe? I wyl discover the embulshmente, et
 thou falle therin. Thou sekest thought so; thy selfe, enuye
 so; thy neyghbours, spurres so; thy enemies, wakyng
 so; theues, peryl so; thy body, damnation so; thy renome,
 the endyng of thy life, flyghte so; thy frendes, p[ro]cesse so;
 thy chyldren, and curinge so; thynges. And bycause
 the feuer hasteth toward me, I leaue my penne to write
 any more. My wif Faustine salutethe the, and is loock
 displeased so; thy losse. I sende the a p[ro]vision, to the en-
 tent that a shippe mape be giuen the, bycause thou shul-
 dest not lose thy witte. If thou be in Alexandria, returne
 not by Rhodes, leest the Pyrates take the. The goddis be
 thy sauagarde, and to me and other to gyue good lyfe, and
 good name with straungers,

A letter

A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Antigonus
comfortinge hym in a sorowfull case.

CThe tenth letter.

MArke pretout Romaine Edile Censorine, com-
panyon of the empire, to the Antigonus ba-
nished sendeth gretynge to thy part, a good
bope of the senate. I deinge in Champayne,
thy hevy case was shewed me, at this houre
in the temple of Jupiter was thy pitifull letter delivered
vnto me. I fele as moche as thou felest, and am hurte with
many woundes: as thou arte separate fro neyghbours
of thyne, vr lyke wise I am banished fro my wittes, and
wote at this houre for the, as thou in my trauailles halle
wote for me: and I fele for the, as thou haste fele for
me. For to frendes afflicted with sorowe, we oughte to
givremedy to their persons, and consolation and com-
punction to their hertes. I swere to the by the lawe of good
men, in this case I haue not ben vncourteis of ancients
nor cruell at this tyme to fele it. As I redde the ly-
nes of thy letter, I coude not holde my handes from sha-
unge, nor my herte from sighinge, nor myne eien fro we-
inge, to se the small thing that thou sendest to demande,
and moche moze for lacke of power to sende to the. The
greatest infortune of all infortunes, is whan a man maye
wylle, and wolde do moche. And the greatest fortune
of all fortunes is, whan a man maye do moche, and wylle
mo but lytle. In this I wylle se if thou haeste forgotten our
unitie, and aduenturest at one tyme, that I haue trusted
in the diuers times. Thou knowest well, that the yonge
was in my youth al thinges were dischargid fro my herte,
and charged theyn to thin understandinge. Than it is a
licheyng that thy trauayles shuld be discharged fro thy
wylle

wyl and charged upon my harts. And in this maner thou
 and other shall see and here, that my handes shalbe as re-
 dy to remedy the, as my teeres of weppinge are for thy da-
 mage. Nowe come to the rest of euyl fortune. Thou gi-
 nest me knowlege, that the goddes haue taken a dought-
 er fro the: And the monstros exthequake hath thow
 dolome thy house, and the senate hath gyuen a sentence a-
 geynste the, wherby thy goodes are loste, and thy person
 banished. The goddes be to me as propyce and meke, as
 they haue ben cruelle to the: I am soope abashed of that
 my spicte hath conceyued in this, as of the losse, that thou
 & thy wylfe haue felte, yet am I not abashed of the monstre
 that fearethe the people, nor of the tremblyng that hathe
 shaken downe thy houles, nor of the fyer that hath brent
 thy goodes, nor of the goddes that haue permittid such
 thynges to falle: But I am abashed, that there is so mo-
 che malycie in the and in thy neigboures: For the whiche
 tustely ye do deserue to haue so horriblie and cruell cha-
 rymementes: Believe me in one thyng: Antigonous, and
 doubt it not, if men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not
 the rule of condicions, the goddes wolde ther be always
 as goddis, not to cause vs to be borne of our mothers to
 gyue vs so cruel chastisementes by the hande of monstros
 beastes. Certaynly it is tush and moste tush, that brute
 beastes be chastyled by other brute beastes, and the mon-
 strous by other monstorous beastes: and such as offend
 with greate fautes, to be punyshed with greate paynes.
 I say to the one thyng, the whiche semeth a newe thyng
 to the, and that is, the euyll personne offendeth more by
 infamy, than the goddes gyue theym payne for it, rather
 than for the offence that is committed agaynst them, as the
 goddes naturally be pitifull, and alwaye haue the name
 therof, to weare alwayes euyl, and our evillnes & shame-
 full

and wrakes deserve to haue soe chaffisement. The symples
call the goddes cruel, in that they se they chaffisement
openly, and so; they se not our secrette pynesse. Then
the goddes haue reason to complayn, because we with our
armes offend them, & they by our cruelties are infamid.
An infelable rule it is, that the pitiful goddes do not pun-
ish us extremely with extreme chastisementes, sythe that
the vicious men do extremely with extreme byces.
The tyme that Camillus was banished Capue, and that
the frenche men possessed Rome, Lucius Clarus consule
was sent by the senate to the oracle of Apollo, to demande
answre, what the Romayne people shuld do to be deliue-
red out of their great perylle. And there this consule was
dayes within the temple on his knees before Appollo,
merkyng right straunge sacrifices, and shedde many teare
with weyng, and yet he coude haue none ans were:
so so with no fmal inconveniences he returned to Rome.
Then the holy senat sent out of every temple two prestis,
so when they were prostrate on the erthe, Appollo sayde:
one begynninge is correspondente to an other begynninge,
and one place to an other, Meruayle thou nor,
ough by the reason of an extreme demaunde, I shewed
no leise extreme to answeare. Ye Romaynes sythe ye sayle
men, ye come to speke to the goddes, for the occasion wher-
me wyl gyue you no good coulasye whan ye haue neade,
ye permitteth that men shalde fauour you whan ye goo to
me for them. Regarde my frindes, not for the sacrifices,
ye haue offred to me, but for the ampre, that I haue
do with your fathers in tyme past, I wyl disquiet to you
secrette, the whiche is, that ye shall say to the Romaynes
me, bu, rynges, The syrle is, lette never man leau
the goddis so; an other man, for feare that the goddes de-
signe fro the mysteriale man in his moile greatest necessi-

L. I. sic.

tie. The ii. is, that none shal lethe to holde the parties
 one of the goddes immortall, that is in heuen, than will
 all the mortall men in the world. The iii. is, that men
 shal be ware to anope the goddes, for the yre of the god-
 des doth more damage than the iniquite of all men. The
 viii. is, the goddes never longerte a man at any tyme, but
 if the goddes be forgotten by men a. 90. tymes. The v.
 is, that the goddes do suffer that one shall be persecuted
 by an other that is pliz, or they haue fyrtie persecuted one
 that is good. And therfore peare stroke with the frates of
 the frenche men; because pe haue persecuted and hanphed
 Comillus your naturall neighbour. The vi. is, if the
 men myl haue the goddes fauorable in the tyme of warre,
 they muste scuse them sy; in tyme of peace. The vii. is
 that the pitifull goddes sendeth not to any realme some
 extreme chaffelment, but as it be to some extreme offend-
 ers committed in the same realme. And likewise to the
 viii. that I wold make none armes to Lucina Clarus,
 bycause ther leid to mi a man to their god Apollo as am-
 bassadour, the whiche ther ought not so haue done. Ye no-
 mayns take this counsell of me, and if pe lynde it yl, take
 no moxe of me. In a strange message lende alwayes the
 most eloquent men, & in your senates leste the myself men;
 And conempte your hostes to haialant capityng; and to
 your goddes lende alway the most iudicent men. The xiij.
 goddes never appeale their tres a meynis bussing me: but
 if the cruyce be born iuoycent and mere. So; a fable
 bellic is not made cleane but with fayre water. For with
 foulis handes it is hard to make the bellic cleane. The god-
 des be loyalt, that they wyl not gyue iust thynges but by
 handes of iust me. Finally I say, if pe wyl drise the frenche
 men your enemies out of your landes, fyrtie castre out the
 pallios fro your barres. Chynke for trouerd that the god-
 des
 bes

we wyl never drave your enemis out of Italy, wyl ca-
me & all the gytlesse that be banyshed, be retouched &
go to Rome. Certaynly the cruell warres that the god-
des percytre at this tyme presente, is but a warynge of
merchillementes for offences passed. For that the pl men
have done to the innocentes in diuers days, after by þ hades
another that be þ, the payment is made in one day.

This answere Apollo made to the priestes flamynes, that
were sent to hym out of Rome, whiche thing made the se-
nates sore adashed. I remembre that in the boke of the anna-
les of the goddis, in the annales of the capitol there
was sete by a senatour, before alle the other senatours of
the senat. Therfore frende Antigonus, as the god Apollo
wrote, if thou wyl not beleue me, that am thy frende, be-
cause the god Apollo. O Antigon! behold how þ understand-
ing of dayn men are our belles to the spirtes of the god-
dis, whiche are secret & hid: and where as they speke, all
what ought to be stolt. For one counsell of the goddis is
more worth in mockerie, than al the couselfs of me though
þ be never so true. Of whens thynesse thou that this
knowest? I shall shewe the: The goddis are so percyte in
sensibilitie, & so wise in al wisedome, and we are soo yll in
malicer, & so simple in all symplexnes, that though they
wuld erre, they can not because they be goddis: and we
þ wil be assured, erre, bycause we be men. And herin I sh-
ewe a brute beaste man is: for all these mortall men are fo-
olish in their owne wylles, that they wyl lose more in fo-
lowing their owne opinion, than wyrre by the counsil of
another manne: and the worse of all is, that they take
such a brute in doinge þ, that therre is no bydell that can
wryne them. And they are so slowe to do wel, that there
þ no pische nor spoure that can moue them to wacco.

L.ii. They

Thou doest complaine of the pitiful goddis, and of the
Infortunate Senate. Also thou complaignest of thyfule fortune.
There thinges there be, that one of them is inoughe with
one stroke of a stome, to take away thy lyfe, and bryng thy
renoume. And whan eche of them hath drawen the apart,
than all together wylle stynke on the with stomes. Thou
haste taken greate competitours, and yet I knowe not
what thy worshynnes is. I shall shewethe some strengthes
and valiantnes that the auncient barons had, and therby
thou shalbe se, what they of this woldodothe holde.

C The felawe of Scipio Maisterake a serpente in the
mountayns of Egipt, whiche after it was slayne, shayed
and the skynne measured in the felde of Mars, it was
score fote of length. Hercules of Thedes proued his force
with the serpente Hydra. And in stynghnge of one of his
heades, ther sprange out, viii. other heades.

C Upon the gyraunt to execute his strengthe was acco
mmed every day to ouertake a bull with rennyng a foty,
and cast hym downe, & he made manye couterys with the
bulle, as it were an other naked yonge man: and yet that
was more meruayle, he with one stroke of his syde stewe
the bulle, and the same day wold eate hym all together.

C On mount Olympe Geraurus the graunt of the nacion
of Grece, brashedel with mo than. l. M. men, and none
coudre styrre nor shake him. And if Homers begyleth us not
of this graunt, he was of suchefame and vertues, that
every fourte paces, there was a custome, that all nations of
the woldis went to brastle at mount Olympe. And therof
raine the rekenyng of the Olympiades.

In the secode warre punische amog the captives of sorowef
full Carthage, Scipio brough a maia lord of Maurya
layne ryght strong and fierce to beholde and in celebrating
a spectacie in the palayes of Rome, whiche was than of great

gret renounme, there were immumerable beastes comynge at this captiue prisoner leapt into the parke, and bytten tƿo hounds, and bytten with a lyon a great whyle: synallyng lunge soore hurte with the lyons pawes, he strangled the lyon with his handes. This was a monstrosous thyng to fynd, and no wile it semeth incredyble to be beleved.

In the pere. CCCxx. of the foudation of Rome, Caius Larent a renouned capitayne, commynge fro Tarent agynst Pyrrho kyng of the Epirottes: he was the firste þ brought. iiiij. Diphantes to Rome the day of his triumph, stinges and places were made for. xxx. M. men to se the summyng of these Diphantes: and in the myddes of the paschyme, the plankes brake, & felwe mo than .v. M. persone. And amonge them there was Humatian, the whiche bare vpon his shuldres a planke with mo thanne iii. C. men, tyl that he and they were succoured,

Cayus Cesar bringinge yonge. sleinge the compayne of nulla, because he was perteyninge to Marius, he being amonge the Rodiens wan his meate with coulning & runnynge vþ horses, with his hondes bounde behyng hym. It was a monstrosous thinge to se, as the annales wytnesse: whiche he wolde gyude the horses with his knees so faste, as thought he had drawen them with the reynes of their houelles.

In the xb. pere that the capitayne of Cartagenes entred into Italy, our auctien fathers sente to the realme of Africke for the dyessis Mercurynthia, mother of the goddesse and whan she arryued at the porre Hostie, the shyppe that she came in, ranne vppon the lande, and by the space of. iiiij. dapes. xxx. M. men, that came in the armys, coulde not remoue it: by chaunce came thither one of the virgins nallees named Iren, whiche with her gyrdle tyed to the shyppe, drawe it to the lande as easly as she wolde haue

drawen

synter a threde from the vassesse: And to the intent that
 we shulde beleue suche thinges, as we herre were don in
 tyme past, we may knowe by dedes done prefetly in our
 dayes. I remembre when my lord Mardon raine fro Dacie,
 he dynde celebrete a spectacle in Rome, wherin there was
 mo than 11.000 people desirous. And other thing most notable
 we haue seene, there was a knyght come by the river Do-
 rubis, who tolke a boar, & ranne into the park, and driv
 to many wylde bestes, that ther fledde fro hym lyons, le-
 opardes, beares, olympannes, and he dyd sle fro them: and
 he tolke mo of them than ther dyd of men. These strange
 thinges I haue reported to the chayf of all these. I am not
 so abashed as I am of the, to se the subiects to doo armes a-
 gainst the goddes, and against the senate, and againt for-
 tune. These thay are grauntes, in vertuous balauntie,
 and happy at al tymes: and they besuche us commaunde
 them that comman be other. The goddes by their natura-
 lity and power cloke up the furies, and gevere the ser-
 vices: And the senate with their Justees overcomethe real-
 mes, and subdueth emperies: and fortune with her tirany
 taketh them that they leue, and leaueth them that they
 take: and honoureth them that they dishonoure, and cha-
 racthereth them that serue her: she begyleth every person, and
 his person begyleth her: she promyleth moche, and fulfylleth
 nothinge: her songe is weyng, and her hysinges is
 songe, to them that be deed amonge warres, and to them
 that liue in fortunes: at them that be presyn shewurth
 with her selfe, and threateth them that be absente. All wyl-
 men shynke fro her, but thou lyke a sole shewest her thy
 face. Of one thyng I am abashed of the, to complayne of
 the senate, and yet I metuayle not: for in conclusion ther
 be but me: yet of trouthe in thinges of Justice they ought
 to be more than men. And to complayn on fortune, I metuayle

wher met a lyttel: for in the end fortunis fortune almyght
mete man. And all the heuens is of an auncient qua-
ntite, and whan we are boleste with mooste greatest qua-
ntites, than she steryeth vs with most grievous burtes. I
have great wonder that thou being a Roman, complained
of the goddes, as if thou were one of the barbarians. We
Romayns are not so moche renouned among al nations
in the multitude of realmes that we haue overcomen, as
weare for the greate churches and seruices that we haue
made. Thou complaunes, howe the goddes haue broken
thy bones with an erthquake, and haue slaine thy dought
and schame in thy banfhememente, and all in one daye. But
you dol not remembrye the offences that thou hast comitt-
ed in dyuers cases. O my frende Antigon, thou knowest
me, þ out of our pil processes cometh forth good scutess;
þ thou knowest noe, þ our wicked wrothes are but a was-
ing of true Justice: þ knowest thou not, þ the fierie cha-
ngementis is but a pisse that halterth the great cominges
þ our yonge desires: and knowest thou not that it is no
wunge that the goddes do chaffie openly, to that they do
wumuls in secrette. Dost thou not knowe, that in conclus-
ion the goddes be goddes, & the mortallies are mortallies,
þ they may do vs more good in one day, than we can do
ourselves in a. C. M. petr. Dost thou not knowe, that the
moralitie done by the handes of the pitifulle goddes, is
more goodness than al the welth þ may come by the handis
of the cruel men. Tha wherof dost thou complain? I pray
þ be styl. And lith thou art amonthe strakers, suffre. And
þou wylste haue honoure, dishonour nor the goddes of the
Romayns. Soz the vniust me do greet wiulysce to speke pil
theron that be just, & specially of the goddis, for they are
well just. Certainly as Cicero sayth, the greatest fault in a
man that is good, is to approue the yl rather þy good;
and the

and the moche greatest evill in an yl man is to condemne
the good for the yl. Thou knowest not how iuste the god-
des be. Of trouthe they channgē not for any prayer, no;
leue not for any th̄stempinges, nor mocke not by wordes:
no; be not corrupt with grettes. Great ought thy offence
to be, sith the erthe hath taken vengeance to the goddes:
and thy innocentē doughter hath payde the faute, for the
offence of her fathet. O Antigonus, dost thou not knowe,
that in al thynges the goddes may werkē after their own
opinion and will, excepce in Justice: for in that they be
goddes of al, they ought to be egal to all. And if they
bountie doth bende them to rewarde vs for goodnes, noo
lesse their iustice constraineth them to chaste us for our
pilles. It is a greattē custome, and a ryghtouse Justice,
þt has wollyngely draweth to synne, agaynst his wyl is
heauen to peyne. I say it bycause thy doughter hath left
to do some good openly, o; elles she hath done some secret
ytle, siche in her youth her lyfe is bereued from her fathet
for example of chastisement in other. And in the ends of
thy letter thou complaynest, that the peyne that men doo
to the, is more greater than the offences that thou hast
done to the goddes. And if it be thus frende Antigone,
þhou oughtest to haue no displeasure, but pleasure, no he-
aynes but hope. And I swete to the by the immortall god-
des, I wolde gladly chaunge my lyberty for thy captiuitie,
and the state of Rome for thy banishment of Sicile.
And I shall tellle the why? He is honoured amounge them
that be honoured, that fortune abateth without faute: and
he is shamed amounge them that be shamed, that fortune
enhanceth without merite. For the shame is in the incon-
uenientes that is done to vs by men, but it is of the offens
that we committē agenst the goddes. And in lyke case the
honourable honour rellish not in the dignitie that we
haue

men, but in the good workes, whereby we merpte. And
 upon the wordes same trewe, that the . xi. emperor of
 Rome have written in a ryng on his finger, whiche sayde
 was: Moze is he to be honoured, that deserueth honour,
than he that hath it and deserueth it not. These wordes
 are greatly to be noted, and spoken by a great lord. That
 conconthe to the purpose. Thou complaynest of the wron-
 gnes and greues that men do to men, and leue the goddis,
 I haue no meruable: so, as the goddis do neuer bniuste
 mynges, so the menne neuer lyghly do any thynge iuste.
 Note this that I say, and forgette it not. The senate gy-
 eth an open peyne, and publysheth the secrete faulfe, in
 such maner that with the peyne they hurte vs, and with
 the faulfe they shame vs. The goddes are moze pittiefull:
 though they gyue vs peyn, yet they kepe the faulfe close.
 My frennde Antigone, though the goddes gader togider
 shoulthe and wyckednes, that we commynte secretelye,
 leue me and doubte not, the goddis gyse lyfe to manye
 whiche men bereweth. Therefore I thinke, that thou
 shuldest thynke and wylshe, that syth the goddes haue sus-
 pised the ylles that thou hast done secretly, that thou maist
 take open chastyment, that men haue gyuen to the. For
 therwise thynkinge to put away the peyne, thou shalt a-
 lare charged with infamy. I haue written to the this lōge
 wille, to thentent that thou shuldest haue some thing to
 use the tyme with. Certaynly the greatest easemente to
 use hym that is in trauayle, is to exercys the iauerynge
 time with some good occupations. I wyll write no more
 to the at this tyme, but as touchyng thy banyschemente,
 tolle me I haue bringe the at one with the senate. I sends
 Banutius my secretarie to the, gyue as moche credence to
 my wordes, as to my letter. And he bringethe a gowne to
 me, and therewith my harte and wylle for to comforte the.

Mm

Salu-

Salutation, peace, and good age be with the: and the i[n]c[rease] of the goddis and p[ro]f[er]t[une] be seperate fro me. Marke, my household, wyfe, and chyldren salute the as thy[n] owne. And we salute all thy family as our owne. Thoughe the halfe of my letter be not of my hande, conforte the, for my harte is entirely thyne. Thou knowest howe I was grousously hurte in the warres of Dacye in my hande, and in moyste ietheris one of my syngers slepeth. Thus I make an ende as always thy[n] owne.

Can other letter sent by Mare thempour to the
same Antygonus agaynst cruell iuges,
The leuenth letter.

Marc the sick[e] manne, to the Antigonus banysched, desyreth salute for hym, and reke for the. To eschewe the eniuous trauayles of Rome, and to se certeyne bokes of Hebrewe that were broughte to me fro Helya, I came hyther to Sanya: I made great haste in my tournayes, howe be it at Salon the feuer toke me: and the xx. day of June I receyued thy seconde letter, and the same houre the feuer quartayne toke me. I thy[n]ke none of vs bothe had the better hande. For neyther my longe letter dydde put away thy trauayle, nor thy short letter dydde put away my feuer. And though as nowe the selvyng of thy trauaille minisheth that I had, the moxe brenneth the desire to remedy the. Therfore I wyll say some thinge to the, but not that I fynde any consolation that thou haste ned[e] therol. In the lawe of Rhodes I haue founde these wordes: we commaunde, that none be so hardy to gyue counsail with out remedy: for the wordes to him þ is in trouble gyueth small consolation, wh[en] there is no remedy. Also the herte that is in sorow, hath moxe rest shewing his own greues, than

then herynge the consolation of other. Thou sayest in thy
 booke, that the censures are right rigorous in that realme:
 and therfore all that nation hath yll wyl with the senate. I
 belieue well they haue good occasion therof: for dishonou-
 rable men make the ministers of Justice to be rigorous, and
 namely they of that yle. For there is an ancient prouerbe,
 that sayth, lyghtly all these ylles, are yl, and the Siciles
 worse of al. Now adays the yl are myghty in their ylnes,
 and the good with their vertues are kepte so close, that if
 there be not some brydell by iustice, the yl shuld possesse al
 the worlde, and the good shuld fyngeshe shortly. But final-
 ly to consider how vnable we be born, & are enuironed with
 somany ylles, beinge subiect to so many miseries, I mer-
 itte not of the humanties that the humain people com-
 mitteth: but I am ashamed of the cruell Justice that our
 Censures do, not as Romayns, but as cruel tyranes. Of
 methynge I am foze abashed, and greatly it troubleth my
 myttes, seinge naturally & of right the Justice of the god-
 dis is good, and we offendynge them, and that haue iustice
 vident to vs, yet we glorify vs to be cruel: so þ the god-
 dis do pardõ injuries done to them, wherby fame of meke-
 ness abideth to them: and we chastyse the inuries of other,
 wherby we wyn the fame of tirantis. In good sothe there
 is no man among men, nor humayn amdg the humayns,
 but he is as a brute beast, & wylde amonge wylde beastes,
 that nameth him selfe to be of the fleshe, and hath no pitie
 wherke other fleshe: Noz considereth not, that the goddis
 hath made him a meke beast & lowly by nature, & he bee-
 eth a fiers serpent by malycs. In the .xit. yere of the fou-
 dation of Rome, Romulus the first kyng sent a comade-
 ment into all places & realmes nygh to him: as to the Vol-
 gues, Hamites, & Russiens, to Capue, Tarentis, & Alba-
 noys: to the intent that all such as were banished troubled

Mm.ii. and

and persecuted in their realmes, shulde come to Rome, there they shulde be receyued and well entreated: and excepte the histories lye, Rome was more inhabyted in ten yeres, than Babylon or Cartage in a. C. yeres. O gloriouſe herte of Romulus, that ſuche a thyngē inuented: and gloriouſe tongue, that ſuche a thyngē commaunded: and gloriouſe was the citie or countrey, that foounded them vpon ſuche mercye and pitie. I haue founde dyuers letters of dyuers realmes of the ouer, ſent forth mencionyng thus: we the kyngē of Parthes in Aſie, to the conſcript fathers of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and vnto all theyn of that empire, hauynge the name of Romaynes, and ſurname of clemency, Salutation to poure perſones. We ſende peace and tranquilltie to you, as we demand the ſame of the goddis.

Thus than regard, what gloriouſe tytle of Clemency our predeceſſours Romaynes hadde: and what example of clemency they haue left for al emperours to com. Take this for certayn, that the Censures or minyſters of Juſtice, for gettyng the pitie of the Romayns, ſhal be reputed cruelle, as Barbatiens: Noz Rome ſhall not reput them as her naturall chyldren, but as cruelle ennemys: and not for augmentours of the common welthe, but famouſes and robbers of clemency.

Cowhan I was of the age of. xxxvi. yere, beinge in the yle of Crete, noſe called Cypres, in wynter tyme. There was a mountayne called Archadio, wherupon foure pylers were ſette, and a ſepulchre of a kyngē of worthy fame, and in his lyfe pitiefull and full of mercy: and as one ſhedde me, there were certayne wordes written in greke letters rounde aboue the ſepulchre ſayinge thus: I haue taken to me alwayes this counſale, where as I myghte do but lyttel good, I never dyd harme: & that that I myght haue

me with peace, I never strove for: Suche as I myght
comme with prayer, I never feared with thremynges:
where as I myght remedy secretly, I dyd never challice
openly: them that I myght correcte with waraynges,
I never hurted with beatynges: Suche as I chastyled
menly, I syste aduertysed secretly: and fynally I never
chastyled one, but I forgaue four: I am right sorowfull
because that I haue chastyled, and am glad because that
I pardoned, In as moche as I was borne as a man, and
myfleshe is here eaten with wormes, and bycause I haue
lived vertuously in my lyfe, my spirite shal now rest with
the goddis.

Howe thynkest thou my frende Antygonus, what an
emprise was this: And howe glorioous was his lyfe,
the the memorie of hym unto this daye abrode soe im-
mortal: And as the goddis maye helpe me in al goodnes,
no defende me fro yl, I haue not so great delyte at Rom-
ay with his armes, nor at Gatus Julius Cesar with his
victories of France, nor at Deipio with his Assyrians, as
haue at the kyng of Cypres with his sepulchre. So that
lynge hathe more glorie in that mountayne beinge dead,
then all the other had in all their lyues with all their cyp-
rophes, that euer they had in Rome. I say not, but that
the wyckednes of yll people shulde be chastyled: for with
out comparison, he is wox that fauoureth the pl, thanne
that commytteth the pl: for the one procedeth of weake-
nes, and the other of malice: but it semeth to me and to al
men that be wise, that as the syn is natural, and the cha-
stylment voluntarie, so oughte the rygour of Justyce to
temperate: So that the mynisters shulde shewe com-
mission rather than vengeance: wherby the trespassours
shulde haue occasion to amende their synne passed, and
to revenge the iniurie presente. O whatte places and
Mm.iii. realmes.

rightmes haue ben loste, not for the plnes that the pl people hath committed, but rather by the disordinate Justice that the ministers of justice haue exercised: Thinking by this rigour to correete the damage s passed, wherby hath risen scandale s and strife, never nonsuch hard of afore. Wha a prince sedeth any person with the charge of Justice, he ought to saye to hym these wordes, whiche August Cesar saide to the gouernour of Afrique: I put not the confidence of myn honouer into thy handes, nor comitte to the my iurye, to be a destroyer of innocentis, nor an executour of synners: But that with one hande thou shuldest helpe the good to maynteine them therin: & with the other hande to helpe to regle them that be ill from these nougynes.

And myn intention is to seide the forth to be a preceptor of orphans, and an advocate for wydowes, a surgieng for all woundes, a shastis for the blinde, a fater to every person, to speke faire to myn ennemis, & to rejoyce my frendes. In this maner I wold thou shuldest vsse thy selfe in every place, so that by the same of pitifulnesse, such as be myndhalde in certayn content to be my subjectis, & that straiges shalbe desirous to come and seeue me.

This instrucciō August Cesar gave to a gouernour of his, because it was shewed him, that he was so in what cruel in p̄realim. Certainly they were short wordes, but they be righte compendious: And wold to god they were witten in the hentes of our iuges. Thou wyltest, howe that I be soe trouayle by reson of the censures & iuges therof. It is a nopsfullē trouayle to recepue the auctorite of Justice into the hande of an unius man: and it is a thinge not to be suffred, that one with tiranny shuld tirannysse diuers other: not with the lyfe, but with the auctorite to correete good me, therby to be called a good censure. The auctorite of his office glē to hym by his prince ought to be his accessarie.

15

affection, and his good lyf for p[ro]p[ri]etate. Such shame,
that by the rectitude of his justice, the pl[an]tiff falleth the ex-
ecution therof. All that haue auctorite shal be impred with
medome & purenes of h[er]inge. It is a great goodnes to
the comon welth, and great confusion to him that is cha-
nged with peyne, wh[en] the miserable that is chaffised, rem-
aineth yng[er]e in hym that chaffiseth, whereby he hath deser-
ved to be chaffised. And contrary, it is great slachenes in a
man to comauande, and great shame to the comon welth
to conse[n]te, and greate inconuenience and reproche to the
king to execute: wh[en] a poore bretche for a small laute is
put to more paine for the same small fauor done in one day,
than is giuen to them that haue greate for many tytanies,
that they haue committed during their life. These be they
that peruerte the common welth, and scander the woldes,
and put them selfe out of auctorite. In the xxx. p[ar]te that great p[ro]phet toke Elia, the whiche
woode Jerusalem, the same tyme being there Malæctus
Iacobus, thider came an Hebrewe, or as he was, as the anna-
les shewe, to complayne to the Senate of the wronges
done to him in that lond, so in doinge
no errāde in the name of al that putnē, he saw these wo-
res: O fathers conscript, O happy people, pour fatal do-
mies ymitte, and our god leueth vs with Ierusalem, lady
of all Isle, & mother to y[our] Chches, to be in seruage of Rom[ans],
the Romains: Certenly greet was þ power of P[ro]p[ter],
moch more the force of his armi to take vs. But thereto
say, that gretter was the yre of our god, & without com-
punction the multitude of our synnes, whereby we dyd inde-
re to be lost. I wold ye knew one thiȝ, & it soþ displaſeth
þ y[our] Romaynes haue not shroued it by experiance. That
our god is so iust, þ is among vs there had be. i. full me,
amonge. i. M. xl, one good, he wold haue p[ro]doned al þ ilk
And

三

And than y^e Romane shal have none as the Egypcians
 haue done you, who shal be more moue than all your
 goddes together. And certaynely as longe as he de sy-
 nes, so longe er shall he our lordes. And as longe as the
 eye of the Henches god wylt endure, so longe shall the po-
 wer of the Romaynes last. And bycause in this case I
 tolde one way, and by your fere ye tolde me other way,
 ye can not come to honour one god onely, no; I to ho-
 nour divers goddes. I wylle leue this matter to the god,
 by whose power we haue been nourished, a by whose bothe
 we be governed, and crachte to the case of our embassade.
 I know what peace haþ been betwene Rome and Iudea,
 and betwene Iudea and Rome, we with you, and ye with
 us. In all thinges we haue obeyed you, and ye vs. No
 thinge we haue denyed you. And because there is no
 thinge more deuyd of the people, and less put in opera-
 tion than is peace. And ther is noþþore more abhymed
 þan þe which approuing safety malþynd, and is wroter. I
 do want you of this mattre trouth, prouide therefore Justice,
 þat they may folowe þose wylles to do vs þe. And let
 us haue no suche malitious folke as myself vs to rebelle.
 The greatest signe and strongest ptyll of the peace is to
 put away the perturbaçons of peace. What profit is to say
 peace, þe in secret to say warre? I say this be-
 cause we haue banisched the elder son of King Jomes out
 of Lyon for his demeznes, and ye haue sente in his steve
 Campanius, Marcus, Russus, and Valerius Gratus
 for presmentes. They haue mit. plagues, or. mit. pestilences, so
 that the least of them were sufficient to empoyson the hole
 empire of Rome, than moche foner out mysterable realme
 of Palestyn. What thyng can be more monstros, than
 that the tuges of Rome shuld sende men to put away þe
 customes þo them that be þil, and they them selfes are the
 inuen-

Nevertours of newe vices? What greater shathe and in-
numentence is in Justice, than they that haue auctoriteye
to chalylse wanton youthe, to gloriſie them ſelſe to be ca-
paignes of theym that be wylde? What greater infamye
mēbe in Rome, than they that ought to be vertuous and
not to gyue example to other, to be yll and vicious? I lye
if they haue not ſo wrythen and enlarged the discipline of
myghtyee, that they haue taught the youthe of Judee ſuche
vices, that haue not ben harde of by our fathers, nor red
moor bokes, nor ſene in our tyme. O Romayns beleue me
none thynge, what counſelles Jude hath taken of Rome
at this houre lette Rome take of Judee. Many realmes
are gotten with myghty capitayns, and moche ſhedynge
of blode, and ought to be obſetued with a good iudge, not
in ſhedynge of blode, but in gettyng of hartes. Certain-
ly the iudge that wynneth moor good wylles than money,
oughte to be beloved: and he that ſerueth for money, and
not the good wylles, for euer oughte to be abhorred as
vilenesse. What thynke ye is the cauſe nowe adays, that
our preſidentes be not obeyed in a iust cauſe? Of a trouth
is bycause, that fyſte they commaunde vniuſt thinges.
The commaundementes that be iuſt, maketh ſoft & meke
hartes, and ſuche as be vniuſt, maketh men cruel. We be
impſerable in all myſteries, that to hym that commaun-
deth well, we obey yll: and the moze yl they commaunde,
the moze obeyed wolde they be. Beleue me in one thynge,
that of the great lyghtnes and ſmalle ſadnes of the iuges
abredde littel fere and great shame in the ſubiectes. We
that be lewes thynk oure ſelues wel aduertysed by the mouth
of our god that layth, Every prince commyttinge charge
of Justice to him that he ſeeth vnable to execute the ſame,
dothe not principally for Justice ſake accompliſhe the iu-
ſice, but doth hit for his owne proſelyte, or elſe to please the
partie;

partie: thinke surely, whan the prince dothe not regard
 this, by some way that he thyngeth the least of, he shal se his
 honour infamed, his credence lost, his good mynished, and
 some great chasysement come to his house. And bycause
 I haue other thynges to say in secrete, I wyl conclude as
 nowe openly. Finally I say, if ye wylle consecute your re-
 alme longe tyme, for the whiche ye haue put your selfe in
 great perylles, kepe and mayntaine Justice, and we shall
 btere you reuerence: Comm aunde as Romayns, and we
 shal obey as Hebrewues: Spue vs a president, that is merci-
 full, and all our realme shal be obedient: Be not so cruell
 to chasyse our mekenes, and we shall be the more obedient
 to your preemynēce: I require you desice vs of ye comand.
 To; in desiringe a not commanding, ye shal fynde loue as
 fathers to the childern. And no treason as of lordes to ser-
 uantes. All these thynges sayd the lewe, wherof the senate
 had great mynayle. And forthwith the senatours prouy-
 ded vs, iii. lustre thinges. The one was, that al these wor-
 des shulde be put in writinge, to thentent that they shuld
 be put in the boke ordeyned to write in all good layenges
 of all straunge ambassadours. The seconde to put downe
 Gratus Valerius, bycause he was so cruel, and in hatred
 with the people. The third they prouyded Pylate of Lion
to be presidente of that realme. Then howe semeth hit to
 the myfrende Antigonus, dyd not this Hebrewewe speake
 hyghly! O Rome without Rome, that of Rome holdeth
 nothyng but the walles, and are fallen into vnythlyfe
 hites. what dyddest thou whan such a shame was laide to
 the by an Hebrewewe in the myddes of the senate? Certainly
 the greatest plague amonage all plagues, and the greateste
 losse amonage all losses, is whan the prince hath his lyfe so
 without lyfse, his justice so without justice, his dedes so
 without dedes, & in alleuyll so bold & hardy, & in al good-
 ness

*of
years*

and such a coward, that rightwisely his swne men do accorde hym, and strangers repreue hym, none doothe loue hym, but all hate hym, and his frenedes wyl not helpe hym, his ennemis wyl persecute hym: They that be present abuse his goodnes, and they that be absent procure his malice: they that lyue take awaie his lyfe, and the deade his pulchre. Nowe to retourne to the purpose of our luges, I praye the Antigonus, shewe me thy mynde, wherof comyngh nowe adayes the great scalaundre of the people, the infamye of the prince, and the peryll in Justyce. If thou knowest it not, harken and I shal shew the, whereby all goeth out of order. They that be priue are so importunate, and the princeis not refusyng them: they begilyng and he luffinge to be begyled: The one with couetyse, and the other with ignorance, doth gyue to suche, that he shoulde take fro, and take awaie fro suche as he shulde giae vnto, and honourath them that dishonouret hym, kepereth the right wyse in prison, and deluyuereth the vicious, dispiseth verte persones, and trusteth them that be leude: and finally they prouide not offices to men, but men to offices. They ordeine the vnjuste to minister Justice, and do iniurie to them that be just. Yet here and I shal shew the moxe. These myserables after that they be appoynted and sett in their offices, wherof they be nothinge worthy, more for their auctorite than for mercye of their persones, they are hared with their extreme tusties. They take on them the hate of greate men with the sweatte and labour of poore men: They supply with malyce that they wante of discretion: And wrost of al, they mesure the Justice of other men with their owne propre vtilite. Yet harken and I shall say more. After that these ideotes se them selfe in the guise of these hayn besties, thā they lacke the reyne of knowledge, & the sayles of wisedome, & the ankers of experiance,

An. ii. no 3

nor can not remedy a small matter, but invent other more
greater, altering and troublynge the peace for their owne
particular welth. They wepe for their owne harme, and
no lesse for the welth of other, and finally lese them selfes.
And therfore they aduenture them selfe into the gulfe, &
inflame their lordes, that haue gyuen them such offices
to gyue to such as haue deserued them. Thou mayst
know, that the beginning of them is pypde and ambition,
and their myddell is enuye and malice, and their ende is
dethe and destruction. And if my counsell were taken, su-
chel shulde haue no credence with princis or gouernours,
but as sclaundred men to be separate, not all onely fro the
common welthe, but fro theyr lyues. Surely greate is the
couetyse of them that be shamelesse, which without shame
demaunde offices of the senate or princis: but it is a more
boldenes of malice for the pryncis to gyue them. In this
and in the other thinges these are so dampnable, that ne-
ther the feare of the goddes doth withdrawe them, nor the
prince doth not refrayne them, nor vengeaunce dothe not
lette them, nor the common welthe dothe nat accuse theym,
and aboue al other reason dothe not commande them, nor
the lawe subdue them.

O my frende Antigonus note this woode that I write
in the ende of my letter. In the yere of the foundation of
Rome, vi. Cxlii. as the Romaynes as than in the worlde
had dyuers warres, as Gaius Celius agaynst theym of
Trace, and Gneo Cordon his brother agaynst Wardyne,
Junius Sylla agaynst the Umbres, Mimitius Russus a-
gynst the Macidontiens, Meralio Scipio agaynst the
Lusitaniis, and Marius consul against Jugurtha kyng
of the Numidiens. It besell so that Boco kyng of Ma-
ritayne fauoured Jugurtha, and vpon them triumphed
Marius, and they laded with chaines were led afore his
chariot,

maner, not without great compassion of them that sawe
this triumph done, incontinent the same daye by
myself of the senate, Jugurtha was beheaded in prison,
his companion Bocus had pardone of his lyfe, and the
muse was, It was a custome none to be putte to Justice,
but firste the auncient booke shulde be searched, to se if any
of his predecessours had done before any seruice to Rome,
wherby the captaine shulde myghte to haue pardon of his
lyfe: and than it was founde, that the grandfather of Bo-
cus came to Rome, and made great orations before the se-
nate, by whose wordes and sentences, his sayd newell me-
tud to haue pardon o f his lyfe: and amonge other of his
sayngis, he rehersed these verdes that sayd: what is that
realme, where is no good amoung the yll, nor yll amoung
the good? what is that realme, that hath theyr houses ful
of good simple persons, and banysheth away al wysedom?
Or what is that realme, that suche as be good are cowar-
des, and the yl hardy? or what is the realme, where al peo-
ple are displeased, and the sedycious prayzed? what is
that realme, that sleeth them that wilde helpe theyr weiche, and
be angry with them that wilde helpe theyr yl? or what is
that realme, that permitteth the proude poore folkes, and
the tyche tyrantes? or what is that realme, where they al
know the euyl, and none procureth any goodnes? or what
is that realme, where suche vices are openly commynited,
that other realmes feare to doo secretely? or what is that
realme, where as all that they desyre they procure, and al
that they do procure, they attayne, and al that is yll they
minke, & all that they thynde they say, & all that they saye,
they may do; and all that they may doo, they daiedo, and
put it in operation that they bare do: and worst of all, there
is none so good to resist it! In suche a realme there shulde
be none inhabitaunte, For within short space the yl men
An. iii. shall

shall be chaunged, or elles dispeopled of good men, or the
 goddes wyl confounde them, or the tiaantis shal take thi.
 Dyuers thinges were said, the which I passe ouer at this
 tyme. Howe thynkest thou Antigone? I swere by the im-
 mortal goddes, that my hart bryketh to thinke of the gre-
 gheame that was laid vpon Rome by such writing as was
 leste to theym by the grauntefader of this kyng Bocus.
 This my letter I wold eth thou shuldest rede in secrete to the
 pretours, & if they amende not, we shall synd the meanes
 to chastise them openly. And as touchyng thy banishemēt
 I promysle the to be thy good frende to the senate, that we
 may soy out anuient amitie to gether. And to get the ou-
 of that ple, certaynely I shal do my diligence, I haue hym-
 ten to my secretarie Panutius to deliuer the ii. viii. letters
 to releue thy pouertie: and thus I sende the my letter to
 comforst thy hevy hart. I say no more but the goddis give
 the cōtentation of that thou woldest haue soy & rest to thy
 person. And all corporall euyls, cruel enimies, and fatall
 desstenies be seperate fro me Marke. For the behalfe of my
 wife Faustine, I salute the, and thy wyfe Russa: She is
 thyn, and I am thyn. With visitation of soy I haue reci-
 ued thy letter, & thankesfullly I sende the myn. I shall not
 vesse to desire to se thy persone in Italy, and there in Sic-
 yle to leue my feuer quartayn.

CA letter sent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the
 ple of Hespōt, whā he did banishe the bacabūdīs
 fro Rome. The. vii.letter.

Marke emperour of Rome, lord of Asie, confederate
 with them of Europe, frende of theym of Afrike,
 ennemye of the Maures: To the Lambert gouernour of
 the ile of Hespōnt, sendeth to the of his partie cōtentatio-
 nes

and suretie fro the saccate senate. I am furred with fur
that thou hast sent me, & am clothed with thy mātel, &
am right well pleased with thy greyhoundes: if I hadde
mought, that thin absence fro Rome shuld haue procured
no moche fruit in that yle: longe ago I Shulde haue deter-
mined as well so; thy profyte as so; my seruice. I sente to
the in demaundynge but small thinges in my spoze, and
yon hast sent me many chynges in earnest. In good sothe
yon hast better proportioned thy seruice with noblenes,
than I to commaunde with my couetise. So; if thou reme-
me, I sent to the so; a doseyne skynnes of furre, and thou
sent me. xii. doseyns: and I dyd send but so; vi. gret-
oundres, and thou hast sent me. xii. Truly in this case my
nature is double. So; here in Rome thy great largesse is
publyshed, and my smal couetise there in Helesponto. And
because I am sure thou hast great thankes of me, I praye
my god to sende the salute and helthe: And that fortune be
not denied the at a good houre. I sende the. iii. barkeres of
mayster foles, & yet I haue nat sent the al. So; if I had ba-
wyed all the foles in Rome, we shuld haue peopled vs
with a newe people. These mayster foles haue ben so wil-
luteche folys, & the Romayn youth so apt to lerne, thoughs
they be but in. iii. barkeres their discipiles wold lade. M.
Cartakes. I haue great mercuayle of one chyng, and my
hart sciaundreth the goddis: so; I se wel that erthquakes
casteth down houses, & great waters bereth awa ydges,
wolnes freseth the vnes, lodein thondring and tempestes
beweketh down toutes, scarste of water causeth deirth, cor-
ruptaire maketh an ende of the that be wise: & yet there is
nothyng that can make an ende of these fooles. All thin-
nes at this day faileth at Rome, except all only the sydell
newandes, gestours, tomblers, players, or dromslayes,
anglers, & suche other, of whom there is nowe a to many.

D what

O what a service shuldest thou doo to the gaddis, & what
 prolyte to Rome, that for thy barkeres full of foiles to sende
 one lade with wyse men? One thinge I wyl say, that with
 the bones of the wise men that yle is halowed, that aucti-
 ently were banished by the malice and enuye of theym of
 Rome: if thy smellynge wittes be not lost, as Italy syn-
 keth of them that be sympyle, so that yle smellethe swete of
 wise menne. whan I came fro the warres of the Parthes,
 the. iiii. yere of myn empire, I passed into that yle by dy-
 uers sees to visite the sepulchres of ancient wise men: and
 in the citie of Moxbite, in the myddes therof, lyeth Quide,
 that was banished by August: and vnder the mountayne
 Arpines is the sepulchre of the renoumed Atmeno oratoj
 banished by Sylla: at the porche of Argonaut thou shalte
 fynde the bones of Colliodorus capituler of the ancythe
 lawes, that was banished by Nero the cruell: and in the
 felde of Elinos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Syliso
 Meteno, that was so well lerned in the. viii. artes lyberal,
 as though he had newe founde them, he was banished by
 the Martians. I say so; trouth, thou shalte fynde it thus,
 for with my knees I haue touched their sepulchres. And
 all that season my tender eyes were as fulle of water, as
 their bones were harde in the erthe. These were not ba-
 nished for no vilanies, that they had done: but it was the
 mercyte of our forefathers, that they wolde be psonuated fro
 the company of so noble barons: and we their chydoren
 fro the pouder of so renoumed sages. I can not tell why-
 che is the greaterre, the fantasie that I haue to chyn yle, or
 the compassion of miserable Rome. I pray the as my frnd,
 and commaunde the as my servant, to regarde the places
 that I have shewed the. For it is a tulse thyng, and most
 tulse, that suche cities be prynleged by them that lyueth,
 whan they are peopled with suche deade wyse men.

And

And bi[n]e ouer Centurion knoweth by wordes the heuyn
 that these v[er]sioners had with vs, and we with them
 in the day of the feast of mother Betecyntia, I say, I sawe
 me that day so moch credite in Rome, as the infamy that
 was caused in all the empire. Rome, that never was ouer-
 gone by them that were valyant and vertuous, that day e
 we sawe ouergone and troden vnder fete by those fooles.
 The walles of Rome that were nevere touched by the Pe-
 nens, had their lowpes full of armed trewandes. Rome
 that triumphed ouer all realmes, was triumphed with
 tumblers and tuglers. I am so abashed in this case, that
 I wote not what to say or write. Yet one thing comforteth
 me, that sith that Rome & the Romaynes vnitlyt be not
 above but with these fooles: She and the famous wylle
 mortally shalbe chastised for these fooles: and in this the
 goddis shall not be displeased, that syche Rome laugheth
 at these trewandes and mockeries, one day she shalpe
 with these tumblers and tuglers. I bawys she all these fo-
 oles to Rome, not so; the bloudde that they haue shedde,
 will so; the hartes that they haue peruerred: & not so; vni-
 on of any that be dead, but because they were malvers
 of folyes. Without comparison it is greater offence to the
 goddis, and more damage to the comon welthe, these tre-
 wandes to take away the wyttes fro wyle folkes, than the
 mutcherers to take away mens lyues. If the grettest gift
 among al gyttes of Fortune, be to kepe a good wille, let
 no man presume to be of a restefull vnderstandinge, that
 is an extreme frende to these trewandes. Belue me one
 thinge. Is one bynde loueth an other, and one beast an o-
 ther, and one wyle man an other: so one foole loueth an
 other foole.

I remembred on a day as I revolved the registers in the
 Capitoll, I redde a ryght menuyous thyng of Quicke
 Do a famous

a famounz oratour, whiche is buried in the yle of Helespat
 on the moise Adamantine, so han great scipia came fro
 the warre of the Pencens, better accompanied with hun-
 gre slozen trewandes, than with balyant capitaynes; he
 sayde to hym: Of trouth it is a great shame to the, and a
 small honour to the senate, that thou that haste ouercome
 the wylle Assres, and beinge soo wyse thy selfe, and of the
 blode of the wylle Romayns, wylte be accompanied with
 these trewandes and fooles. In that vnhappy realme all
 the wise men coude not ouercome one that was thoughte
 so myghter amoung so many fooles. I say to the, that thy
 wyt is in more peryl here in Rome, tha thy life in Assrike.
C. These were good wondres, and not of no woldely ma-
 lyce, and within a shorte whyle after, and by dyners light
 persons, and for a small occasion, this poone dñe oratour
 and ryche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was ha-
 nyshed Rome, and sent into that ple. Than beholde Lam-
 bert, lette vs retouerne to these iuglers, and trewandes.
 So han they arclanded in that ple, let them go frank and
 free, so that they die not therp accustomed toyes. Thou
 shalt constraine them to labour, and chaluse them if they
 be ydell. For these myserable folke, fleeing from iuste tra-
 usape, take on them vniust idelnes, & conuert me with
 their trewandysse, than if open scoles of vacabundes were
 kept. There is nothyng that our forefathers dyd, that di-
 spleseth me so moche, as the suffraunce of these vniustic
 trewandes.
C. In the vere. **C. xxvi.** of the foundation of Rome, in
 an horrible pestilence in Itale, to rixoyce the people, was
 fyrt founde out the iuention of Theatres, by the advise
 of the trewandes. It is a shamefull thyng to here, that
 the pestilence durynge but two yeres, and the rage of these
 vniusties, to dure, vni. 6. yeres, E. Lamp

Lamberte. I beleue well that the complayntes, that
 our prisoners haue begon here, haue never haue an ende
 more. Whiche do wyl care not: for the gendge of them that
 beyle, iudiceth the iustice and sentence of theym that be
 wonde. As the mayster of Neron sayde: as moche as the
 name of synne ought to be fliode of theym that be good,
 so moche p[ro]apse is the infamye of the yll. I shall telle the
 no thyng, to the intent that the chastyement shulde not
 seme cruell to the. That sith the emperours of Rome are
 full of clemency to straungers, it is no reason they shulde
 be to sharpe to theyr owne. Bythe fatall desstenies hath
 brought me into this woldre, I haue sene no thyng more
 unproffitable to the common welthe, nor greater folys in
 them that be lyghthe of condicions, nor a worse inuention
 for vacabudes, nor a more cold reuocation of mortall folis,
 tha to leue of these gammers & trifelers & such other iug-
 gers. What thing is more monstrosous, tha to se wise men
 riuoyce at the light pastyme of these bayne trifelers: what
 gretter mockery can be in the capitol, than the folyshe sa-
 vinge of a gestour, to be praysed with greate laughter of
 wise me: what gretter scauders can be to princis houses,
 than to haue theyr gates always open to receyue in these
 fooles, and never open to wise folkes: what gretter cri-
 sise can there be for any persone, to giue moxe in one daye
 to a sole, tha to his seruantes in a yere, or to his kyn al his
 lyfe: What gretter inconstancis can be, tha to want men to
 furnishe the gatysongs and frontiers of Illirico, and these
 rewandes to abide at Rome: what lyke shame can be to
 Roine, tha þ the memory halbe left moxe in Italy of these
 roblers, trewandes, pyppers, singers of gestes, tabouters,
 roudies, dacers, mōris, gesters, & tuglees, tha þ renome
 of capitains with their triumphes & armes. And whan these
 capitaines went all about in Rome in lauette, so wynges theyr

Do.ii. lewde-

*ngglors c
tayors Com-
hds By mire*

Lendenes, and gaderyng of money: the noble barons and capitaines went fro realme to realme, hallyng their money, aduenturinge them lyues, and shedyng their blode.

CIn the bittermolste parte of Spayne, whan warre began betwene the Liberians and Godytains, and they of Liberie lacked money: Two tuglers and tabourees, of fered to maynteyne the warre a hule yere. And it folowed, that with the goodes of two fooles many wyse men were slayne and ouercome.

CIn Ephese a cytie of Asie, the famous temple of Diana was edified with the confiscation of the goodis of such a trewande and foole.

Cwhan Cadmus edified the citie of Thebes in Egypce with 1. gates, the mynstrelles gaue hym moze toward it, than all his frendes.

CIf the histories be trew, whan August edified the walles of Rome, he hadde more of the trewandes, that were drowned in Tybie, than of the comon treasourie.

CThe firste kyng of Corinthe arose by suche villaynes, I sawe his sepulchre at Corynthe. And as I say of these smalle nombre, I myght say of many other. Behold than Lambert, howe lyttell care the goddis take, and howe ha gnable the casse of fortune is, and howe the dedes of men alle. Some be had in memorie by their folye, and somme for their wyledomme. One thinge is come to my mynde, of the chaunce of these trewandes, and that is: whyle they be in presence they make every man to laugh at the folyes that they do and say: and whan they be gone, every man is sorie for his money þ they bare away. And of trouthe it is a just sentece of the goddis, þ such as have taken bayn pleasure togither, whan they are departed to wepe for their losses. I wyl write no more vnto the: but that I do lende the this letter in Greke, to thentent that thou shalme hit

nowe all the pple. Wende forth with the myppes agayne,
in theyn mynstre be sente forthe with prouisions in to Italy.
Peace be with the Lamberte, helth and good fortynge
be with me Marc. The senate saluteth the. And thou on
my behalfe shalt shewe to the pple the lyfull happy custo-
mes. My wifte Faustine saluteth the, and sendeth a riche
gredell to thy doughter. And in recompence of the futes
ysende the ryche iuelles.

**A letter sent by Marc the emperour to Catulus his
speciall frende of the nouelties of Rome
The. xliii letter.**



Catulus the newe Censure to the Catulus
the olde Censurine. It is. i. dayes past,
that in the temple of god Janus, I re-
ceyued thy letter: and I take the same
god to wytnesse, that I had rather haue
seen thy persone. Thou wyttest, howe
my wytynge is longe, but the shortnes
of tyme maketh me to sunswere the more briesly, sarte a-
wape more thanne I wolde. Thou desirest me to gyue the
knowlege of the newes here. Thereto I sunswere, that it
were better to demaunde, if there be any thyngs abyden-
the in Rome or Italy that is olde. For nowe by our heu-
uenlynes al that is good and olde is eaded, and new thyn-
ges that be ill and detestable we may se dayly. The empe-
rour, the Consule, the Tribune, the Senatours, the C-
ties, the Flamynes, the Pretours, the Centurions, all
such thinges be newe, but the blantes that ben olde, & al
marchyd to make newe offices, and to vedgeyn statutes and
ordinaries, to come to the counctiles, and to reysse by sub-
tis. In lathe wyle, þere hath ben no we mo nouelties
þonne

Do. iii.

within

within these IIII. yeres, than in tyme passed in IIII. yeres,
 doo we allsemble to gether at III. to rountell in the
 capitol, and there we blason and booke, swere, and promise,
 that some of vs may subdue & putt vnder other, to fauour
 one, and distroye an other; other to chastise the yll and re-
 warde the good: To repaire olde, & edifie newe: to plucke
 vices vp by the rootes, and to plante vertues: to amend
 the olde, and folowe the good: to reþroure tyrauntes, and
 assisse the poore: and when that we are gone from thens,
 they that speake best wordes, are often take with the worst
 dedes. O heuy Rome, that nowe adapes hath suche Se-
 nators, that in sayinge we shall do, we shall do, passeþ
 theyþ lyfe: and than every man sekynge for his owne pro-
 fyte, forgetterþ the common welch. O stentymys I am in
 the Senate to beholde other as they regarde me: and I
 am abashed to here the eloquence of their wordes, the zele
 of Justyce, and the iustification of their persons: and af-
 ter that I come thens, I am ashamed to se their secrete ex-
 sions, their damnable thoughtes, and their yll werkes
 so plenyly manyfled. And yet there is an other thyng of
 more mercuple, and not to be suffred, that suche persones
 as are mooste defamed, and vseth mooste dishoneste vices,
 that they with their most damnable intensions, make their
 awnes to do most cruell Justice. It is an inueſtable rule,
 and of humayn malice mooste viced, that he that is mooste
 hardy to commyte greatest crimes, is most cruel to giue
 sentence agaynt an other for the same offendis. He thinkis
 that we regard our owne crimes, as through smalle net-
 tes, that caueth thinges to seeme the lesser. And we reme-
 bry the fautes of other in the water, that caueth thinges
 to seeme greater than they be. O howe many haue I seen
 condempted to be hanged by the senate, for one smal faute
 done in all the lyfe, and yet they commyte the same faute
 every

many houres, agold dofford ad. oþer all day long ad. and so
 I haue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great,
 ther was a renouned pycate or rouer on the see, whiche
 shid and drownd all shippes that he coude gette: and
 by commaundemente of this good kyng Alexander there
 was an armys sente for he to take hym. And whan he was
 taken and presented to Alexander, he sayde to hym: Shew
 me Dionides, why dost thou kepe the see in danger, that
 no shyppe can saflye out of the east into the westre for the?
 The pycate answered and sayde: If I kepe the see in
 daungier, whydost thou Alexander kepe all the see and
 lande as losse? O Alexander, bycause I fyghte with one
 shyppe in the see, I am called a thef, and bycause thou
 shiddest with th. 11. shippes on the see, and troubllest al the
 world with th. 1. thousande men, thou art called an
 imperour. I swere to the Alexander, if fortune were as
 favourable to me, and the goddis as extreme agaynst the
 they wolde gyue me thyne empire, and gyue the my lyttel
 shyppe; and than peraduenture I shuld be a better kyng
 than thou art, and thou a wors ther than I am.

These were high wordes, and well receyued of Alexan-
 der: and of trouth to se if his wordes were correspondente
 to his promyses, he made hym from a pycate a great ca-
 pitayne of an army: and he was more vertuous on lade,
 then he was cruell on thesee. I promysle the Catulus A-
 lexander dydde syght well therin, and Dionides was to
 be payrsed greatly for that he had sayde. Nowe adayes in
 Iaile they that cobbe openly are called lordes: and they
 that cobbe priuily are called theues.

In the yeres boches of Lpinius I haue redde, that in the
 sonnde troublous warre punyke betwene the Romaynes
 and Cartaginens, there came an ambassadour Lus-
 tanus sente fro Spayne, to treate for accorde of peace.

þahan

Whan he camme to Rome, he proued before the Senate,
 that syt he entred into Itaile, he had been capynnes to
 bed of his goddes, and wheras he was at Rome, he had
 sent one of them that had robbyn hym, bange up an other
 that had defenched hym, the lenge to pil a tree, and howe
 the tree was laued without Justice, as a desperate man
 coke a cole and wrote on the gybet as foloweth. O gybette
 thou art made among theues, nourisched among theues,
 cure of theues, waughte of theues, made of theues, set
 among theues, and thou art peopled with innocentes.
 And these as I redde these wodes was in the original of
 Louius, and in his histories. I smere to the by the fy-
 tal godes, that all the Decade was written with blache
 ynde, and these inodes with couer besyplon. I can not
 tell what wodes I shalde sende the, but that every thynge
 is so newe and so tender, and is swynded with so alayment,
 that I feare me all wyl fall soone to the playne erthe.
 I tell the that some are sodaynly eyen within Rome unto
 halour, to whom I wyl rather assure their fal, than their
 lyfe. So all brydys ge hable made cannot be fise. The
 longer a tree is kept in his kynde, it wyl be the longer it
 shalbe olde. Thetrees whiche sterte we eate in sommer, doo
 incorne us in wynter. O holme many haue we sene, wher-
 as they shalbe mayled of their rydinge, and abashed of
 their rydinge haue growen as a hole pece, and soden-
 ly fallen downe. They felidice hath ben but a shone
 poynt, and their infirmitie as a long lyfe. Finallye they
 haue aridur, and ther armes is armed st with stones of entreas,
 and after a lyttel gryndyng left it, in style at the hole vere
 after. Thou knowest wel my friend Carnius that we have
 sene Cinclius fulvius in one yere made Consule, and his
 chyldren tribunes, and his wife a matron for poynt may-
 dens, and besyde that made keeper of the capitol, and after
 upon

And now in one pess but the same day he saw Cincius be-
 hoved in this place, his chyldren drownded in Cybise, his
 wifes banisched the Rome, his house taken downe to the
 ground, and all his good conuenient to the common trea-
 surer. Of his rigours example we haue not rede in any
 book to take a copie of it, but we haue sen it with our eies
 to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people are ba-
 gable, so are the condicions of men divers, and appetites
 of mortall folke: and me thinkest this to true, seinge that
 some loue, some hate, and that that soms feare, some elate-
 ment: And that that some lettech lyttelle by, other make
 al. In such wise y al can not be content with one thing, nor
 come with all thinges can not be satisfied. Let every man
 chuse as hym lyketh, and embrace the worlde whan he wyl,
 I had rather mount a softe pace to the fallyng, and yf I
 do not come thereto, I wyl abyde by the way, rather than
 my selfe to mount hastyly, and than to tumble downe
 hardyhit. In this case sith mens hartes vnderstand it, we
 mote not to write further with pennes. And of this matter
 manteine not the lytell that I do saye, but the great deale
 that I wyl say. And syth I haue begon, and art in strange
 landes, I wyl wypte the al the newes fro hens. This yere
 on .xxv. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of
 Italy, sayenge he was of the ple of Cetyn, a baron ryghte
 elegant of body, ruddy of aspect, and ryght hardy of cou-
 rage. He considered beinge at Rome though the sommers
 dayes were longe, yet wynter wolde drawe on, and than
 wolde it be daungerous saylynge in to his ple: and saue
 that his besynes was not dispatched: On a day beinge at
 the gate of the Senate, seinge al the Senatours entre in
 to the Capitolle, without any armour vpon them, he as a
 man of good spirite, and relatour of his countreye, in the
 presence of vs all sayde these wordes:

¶p

¶la-

CO fatherr conscripte, O banynge people. I am come from
 a straunge countrey to Rome, comynge to the Romes, and I
 have founde Rome without Rome. A place where
 with it is inclosed, which not brought me hyder, but the
 fame of them that gowernent. I am not come to be the
 fountayn, wher in is the creature of all realmes, but I am
 come to se the sacred Senate, out of the whiche shal eth the
 caunsell for al men: I came not to say you, bicausse pe han-
 dyde the all other, but bicausse I thought you more bera-
 vous than all other. I dare well say one thinge, except the
 goddes make me blund, and trouble myn understanding,
 pe be not Romayns of Rome, no; this is not Rome of the
 Romayns your predecessours. We haue hevor in our ple,
 that dyuers realmes ben wonne by the valiantise of one,
 and conserued by the wisedome of all the Senate: and at
 this houre pe are more lyke to be destroyed, than to intune
 as your fathers dydde: all their exercize was in goodnes,
 and ye that are their chyldeyn passe all your tyne in cer-
 monies. I say this ye Romayns, bicausse pe haue almost
 kyld me with laughyng at you, to se holme or doo all, as
 moche your diligence to leaue your armure without the
 gats of the Senate, as your predecessours dyd to take them
 to defende the empire. What profyte is it to you to leaue
 your armes so; the surties of your personnes, and putte
 them on, wher with pe flee all the woldre: What profyeth
 it to the thoughtfull suiter, that the Senatour entred un-
 armed in to the Senate without swerde or dagger: and his
 hatte entred into the Senate armed with malycie: O Ro-
 mayns, I wyl ye knowe, that in our ple we hold you not
 as armed capitaines, but as malicioys senators: not with
 sharpe grounden swerdes & daggers, but with hardy het-
 tes & venomous tongues pe feare vs. If ye shalde in the
 Senat put on hartes, & therwith take away your lyues, it
 were

her but a smallle losse, slyng that ye suffeynt not the iunates, ne; dispatche not the busynesses of suiters, I can not suffre it. I canne not tell in what state ye stande here at home: for in one ile we take armour fro foles, whether our armours are take awaie as fro foles o; madde folles, I wot not: If it be done so; ambitiousnes, it cometh not of Romaynes, but of tyrauntes, that wranglers and nefull folke shulde be iuges ouer the peisable, and the ambiicious ouer the meake, and the malitious ouer the simple: If it be done bycause ye be foles, it is not in the law of the goddis, that. iii. C. fooles shuld governe, iii. C. M. wise men. It is a longe season that I haue taryed so; myn answere and lycence, and by your madnes I am now farder of, than I was the syrste day. We bryngge vyle, hony, safiron, wood, and cymbre, salt, syluer, and golde out of our re into Rome, and ye wyl that we goo elles where to sette Justice. Ye wyl haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to determyne our Justices: ye wyl that we paye our tributes in one day, & ye wyl not discharge one of our cittades in a hole yere. I require you Romayns determine your selfes to take away our lyues, and so we shall ende: wels here our complayntes, to thentet that we may serue you. For in an other maner it may be than ye know by he-winge with your eates, whiche peraduenture ye wold not be with your eien. And if ye think my wordes be out of measure, so þ ye wyl remedy my coulter, I set not by my lyfe. And thus I make an ende. Vxely frende Catulo these be the wordes, that he spake to the senate, which I gat in writinge. I say of trouth, þ the hardines, that the Romaynes were wont to haue in other countres, the same as now straingers haue in Rome. There were that sayde, that this ambassador shulde be chastised, but the goddis forbyd, þ for laying trouth in my presence, he shulde haue ben correcte.

Op.ii.

It is

It is enough to mache to to suffre these mynges though
 we see no; perfaute those that aduentys and warre be
 of them. The shepe ar not in suretie of the wolfe, but if the
 Shepard haue his dogge with him. I mene, doggis ought
 not to leave barkinge for to awake the sheperdes. There
 is no god commaundeth, no; lawe counsayleth, no; com-
 mon welle suffreth, that they whiche are committed to
 chastyse lyers, shuld hang them that say trouth. And sith
 the senatours shewe them selfe men in their lyuyng, and
 sometyme more humayre than other that be slauers, who
 elles shulde deliuer them fro chalffement. O Rome and
 no Roome, hauyng nothing but the name of Roome, wheres
 is nowe become the noblenes of thy triumphes, the glorie
 of thy chyldren, the rectitude of thy Justice, and the ho-
 nor of thy temples: for as nowe they chalffe hym moe
 that murmurere agaynste one only Senatour, than they
 do them that blasphemre al the goddis at ones. For it gree-
 ueth me moe to se a Senatour or censure to be woxte of
 all other, than it displeaseth me, that it shuld be said, that
 he is the best of all other. For a trouthe I saye to the my-
 frende Catulus, that as nowe we node noe to leke to the
 goddis in the temples, for the Senatours are made god-
 des in our handes. This is the difference betwene theym
 that ben immortall, and they that be mortall. For the god-
 dis never do thynges that is yll, and the Senatours doo
 neuer good thinge: the goddis neuer lye, and they neuer
 say trouthe: the goddis pardon often, and they neuer for-
 gryue: the goddis are content to be honoured. v. tymes in
 the pere, and the Senatours wold be honoured. c. tymes
 a day. What wylt thou that I shulde say more? but what
 so euer the goddis do, they ought to be praysed: and the
 Senatours in all their woxes deserue to be reprooued. Fynally
 I conclude, that the goddis assyure and assyeme eu-
 ry thinge

ynþuge, and they erre and fapir in noþyngis? And the
senatours assyse noþyng, but erre in all thyngis: suchy
ynone thunge the senatours are not of reaþow to be cha-
nged: and that is, whan they intenden not to amend their
menes, they wylle not suffer the watoours to waite their
gouern to shewe them the trouþe. Whiche as may be, I
am of the opinion, that what man or woman, withdraweth
heit eates fro her yng of trouþ, impossible it is for theym
nappy their hertes to loue any vertues: Be it censure
noþingeth, or senatour that oþdeyneth, or emperour that
nummaundeth, or consule that executeþe, or oratour that
pracheth. No mortall man take he never so good dede to
his werkes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he
deserveth some chastyfement for some cause or counsaylle
in his doynges. And siche I haue written to the thus of o-
ther, I wyl somwhat speake of my selfe, bycause of the
wordes of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou desiruelle
to knowe of my person. Knowe thou for certayne, that in
the halendes of Januarie I was made censure in the se-
nate, the whiche offyce I desired not, nor I haue not de-
sirued it. The opinion of all wyse men is, that no manne
without he lacke impte, or surmounteth in folg, wyl glad-
take on hym the burden, charges of other men: A greet-
er case it is for a shamefaſte man to take on him an offyce
to please every man, for he muste shewe a countenaunce
contrarie to that he thynketh inwarde. Thou
writte saye, that the good are oderned to take the charge
of offyces. O vnhappye Rome that hathe wylled to take
me in ſuche wyle, as to be the beſte in it. Greuous pefy-
lence ought to come for them that be good, ſith I am ſca-
pid as good amonge the yll. I haue accepted this offyce,
not for that I had any nede therof, but to ſatisfie the de-
ires of my wiſe fauſtine, and to fulfull the commaun-
*Moder. - An
ſure.*

ment of Utherwch my godfathur. There no merriph
of any thyng that I do, but of that I leue to be don.
For as ympe that is wedded to faulynge, there is no by-
lany but he shal do it. I swere to the, that sith the day we
mete wedded, mo semethat I haue no wytte. I leue
medowyng for this tyme, and returme to speake of offyses.
Nately a peisible man ought to be in offyses, though he
be peynefull: for as the offyses are assured amoung them
that he vertuous, so perillously goth the vertuous folke
amoung offyses. And for the trouthe hereof creken what
they wyrre, and than thou shalt se what they lose. Saye
that is good; if thou knowest it, and here the xl, if thou de-
syte to knowe it. He that wyl take the charge to gouerne
other, he seketh thought and trouble for hym selfe, enuye
for his neyghbours, spurnes for his ennemyes, pouertie
for his cychesse, awakynge of theues, peryl for his bodye,
an ende of his dages, and contiment for his good renome.
Fyually he seketh awaie to reiecte his frenedes, and a re-
peale to recouer his ennemis. O an vnhappy man is he,
that taketh on hym the charge of chydrene of many mo-
thers, for he shalbe alwayes charged with thoughtes, how
he shulde content them all: ful of sighes bycause one hath
to gyne hym: feare that one shulde take fro hym, wepyng
if he leise, and suspition that they infame hym. He that
knoweth this, without longe tacienge ought to sette a by-
dell at his heed. But I saye of one, as I saye of an other.
For I wyl swere, and thou wylt not deny it, that we may
 finde some nowe adays, that had rather be in the parke to
ght ayenst the bulles, tha be in suretie upon þ scaffolde.
Oftentimes I haue hard say: Go we to the Theatres to
renne at the bulles: go we to chase the hertes and wylde
boozes: and wha they com there, they renne away, not the
bestes fro them, but they fro the beastes: In liche wyse as
they

her went veyng, they returne againe fleeing? I saye these
 vniuersous persones procure to gouerne, & are gouerned
 by commandes and are commaundered: they rule and are
 ruled: and finally thynkyng to haue diuers bister their
 bodes, these wretches put them selues under every man's
 he. For the remedie of all these perillies my thoughter is
 confortid with one thing, and that is, without procuring
 alstryng my selfe, the senate of theyre alone wyll hath
 commaundered me. In the butt table of our auientiallaines
 in those woodes, we comandide, that in our faccio[n] Senate
 marge of iudicis haueuer given to him, that wilfully of-
 feth hym selfe to it, but to such as by tyre deliberation be
 chosen. This is terraynly a iuste laine: for men now be
 not so heriuous nor so lewinge to the comon wealth, þt they
 wyl forger their owne quietnes and rest, doing homagete
 them selfe to procure an other man's party. There is none
 to folyshe, that wyl leue his wife, chyldren, & his owne weare
 unpay, to go in to strange countreys, but if he se him self
 amoung straunge people thynkyng bider the colour of sin-
 ne to seke for his owne iustice. I say not this without know-
 ing, that the princi[n]s with their small stude & thought, &
 the iuges with their concorde, haue underyued a shakyn
 down the hygh walles of the polycie of Rome. O my cred-
 ed Catulus, what wyl thou that I shulde saye, but that our
 mede[n]e so minisheth, our couetise so largely stretcheth, our
 hardines so boldeth, our shamfalmes so shameles, that we
 woulde so iuges to go and robbre our neighbours as cap-
 tayns against our enemites. I lette the to wyte, wher as
 Rome was beloued for chastisung the pl, now it is as mo-
 che hated for dispoyling of innocentes. I do remembre, þ
 I red, in the tyme of Denis Syracusan, that ruled at Sy-
 rie, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, be-
 yng of a good age, well lerned, and balyuant in armes,
 and

and ryght fusions to regare every thyng. He cam to
Rome to se the maiestie of the sacred senate: the heighnes
of the high capitol entronned with the Colleget: the multy-
tude of senators: the wyldeomes of the counsaylours, the
glorie of armes: the correction of the yll, the peace of
the inhabitauntes, the bverelis of nations: the haboun-
dane of the mayntenaunce, the vixer of the offices, and
finally seinge that Rome was Roine: he was demaunded
whiche he served therby: He answered and sayde: O Rome
in this thy present woynde, thou art full of vertuous and
wise men, hereafter thou shal be furnished with soles. To
what hygh and very hygh woydes were these! Rome was
in. C. petes without houles of myctis of soles, and nowe
it hath her. in. C. petes without one wyle or vertuous.
Sooke what I say, it is no midasyme but of trouthe. If the
pitiful goddes wot what godde to sele our predecessours
sto deeth to lyfe, ryther they wold not kno woyds for their
thylderne, or elles attache vs to soles. These be thinges
hled in Rome, but thou sendest no woyde of that is hled
in Agrippine. I wylle wryte to me some thyng to radycye me, if thy wile
Donsilla chansed well of the flote that came out of Cetin
with salte, oyle, and honye, I caused hit to be welle pro-
vided for her. Wotte thou, that Flodius our uncle was cast
downe by rage of his hoyrs, and is deceassed. Laertia and
Collodius are stendes to gyther, by occasion of a mary-
age. I do send the a gowne, I pray to the goddes to lende
the top therof. My wile Faustin saluteth the. Recomende
me to Jamyzo thy sonne. The goddes haue the in keping:
and contrary fortune be sto me. Marcus thy frende to the
Catulus his owne.

A let.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to the amorous ladies of Rome, by cause they made a play of hym. The. xiiii. letter.

Marke oratour lerninge at Rodes the arte of
humanite, to you amorous ladies of Rome
salutation to your persones, and amende-
ment of your despised lyfe. It is witten to
me, that at the feaste of the mother of the
goddis Berecynchia, all ye tooghter there
present played, and gested on me: wherin ye layde for an
example my lyfe and my renoume. It is shewed me, that
Uillina composed it, Lucia fulua wrote it, and thy selfe
Coxingula dyd singe it, and ye all together dyd present it
to the Theatre: ye haue portrayed and paynited me in dy-
uers maners, with a boke in my hande, rounted contrarp,
as a fayned philosopher: with a tongue alonge, as a bold
specher without measure: with a horne on my heed, a com-
mon cuckolde: with a nettell in my hande as a trembyng
auer: with a baner fallen downe, as a cowarde capitayn:
with halfe a berde as a sempnate man: with a clothe adoe
mynties, as a condempned bacabounde: and yet not con-
sent with this, but the other day ye portayed me in a new
maner. Ye made my figure with fete of straw, my legges
of ambre, my knees of wood, the thyghes of bialle, the be-
ine of horne, the armes of pycche, the handes of mace: the
heed of yello: the eares as an asse: the eyes of a serpente,
the heares as rootes iagged: the tethe of a catte, the tōge
of a scorpion, and the foreheed of leade: wherin was wyp-
pen in two lynes these letters, M, N, T, N, I, S, V, S, the whi-
ch meneth (as I do take it) The mortall man taketh not
the statute so strange, as the doublenes of the lyfe: I than-
ke him to the tyuer, and therin tyed his heed dounwarde
a hole

Mq

a hole day. And if the lady Mestalyn had not ben, I think
 it had ben tied there tylle nowe. And nowe ye amorous la-
 byses haue written to me a letter by Fulvius Fabritius,
 wherof I receyue no peyn, but as an amorous man, from
 the handes of ladyes I take it as a mockerie. And to then-
 tent that I shulde haue no tymme so to thynke theron, ye
 sende to myt a question of me, that is : if I haue founde
 in my iurynge, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what,
 and howe the sytse women were made. And bycause my
 complexion is to take moches so to mockynge, and lyþre
 demaunde it, I shall shewe it: you and your frendes and
 myn, and specially Fulvius your messager hathe desired
 me thereto. There is nothig wherof I eoplayne, but I wyl
 holde my peace, saue to your letter and demaunde, I will
 answere. And siche there hath ben none so to aske the que-
 stiō. I protest that to none other, but to you amorous wo-
 men of Rome, I sende myn answere. And if any other ho-
 nest lady will take the demande so to you, its a token that
 she hathe enuy of the office that ye be of. Certaynly if any
 lady sheweth her selfe annoyed with your pepne, openly,
 fro hens for the I condemne her, that she kepe no fawt that
 she knoweth in secrete. They that be on the stage, feare not
 the royng of the bulle; and he that is in a dongeon, fea-
 reth not the shotte of artillerie. I wyl say, a womanne of
 good lyfe, feareth no man with an yll tongue. The good
 Matrones may kepe me so to their perpetuall seruante, and
 they that be yll so to their chiese enemite. Nowe to answere
 the question, to know wherof the sytse women were made:
 I say that accordyng to the diversitie of nations, that be
 in the wozlde, dyuers opinions I fynde in this case.
 The Egypciens saye, that whan the flode of Nyle ranne
 abrode, and warred the erthe, there abode certayne pieces
 of steech cleauynge to gether lyke greare, and thanne the
 heate

hate commynge in them created many wyld beastes: and
 amonge them was founde the firste woman. Note ye
 ladiis, that it was necessarie, that the stode of Apel shuld
 come ouer his brimmes, that the first woman myght be
 made on the exche. All creatures are brydde in the entray-
 les of they; mothers, excepte the woman, that was brydde
 without a mother. And this semeth true, that without mo-
 thers ye were borne, because without rule ye lyue, & with-
 out order ye dye. Verly he putteth hym selfe to many tra-
 garies, and hath many wyles to synd, and many times to
 thinke, and to aske many succours, and to abyde manye
 yeres, and to chuse amonge many women, that wyll rule
 one onely wyfe by reason. Be the beastes never so cruelle
 and fierce, at the laste the Lyon is ledde of his keper with-
 out any bondy: The bulle is closed in the parke: the bry-
 dell enleth the hōs: a spetall hooke catcheth the fyshe: and
 the wōlfes suffreth to be tyed: onely a woman is a beast vni-
 able to be tamed: & neuer lesseth her boldnes for any thing
 that is commaunded her, nor the brydelle, for not beyng
 commaunded. The goddes haue made men as men, and
 beastes as beastes, and the humayne understandyng he
 is high, and his stregh of a great power: but yet is there
 no man, be he never so high, that shal scape the womā lightly,
 nor defende him, be he never so stronge. But I saye to
 you my ladiis: There is no spores that can make you
 go, nor raynes that can holde you, nor brydell that can re-
 myne you, nor angle or net that can take you: and final-
 ly there is no law can subdue you, nor shame refrayn you,
 nor feare abashe you, nor chasylemente amende you. O
 to what p̄ll aduenture putteth he hym selfe, that thinketh
 to rule and correet you. For if ye take an opinion in hand,
 all the wōlde shall not drawe you frome it: If a man tell
 you of any theng, ye wyll neuer belene hym:

¶q.ii.

If one

If one gyue you good counself, ye wyl not take it: if one
threaten you, anone ye complayne: if one flatter you, thā
ye ware proude: if one reioyce not in you, ye are spiteful:
if one forbeare you, it maketh you bolde: if ye be chasty-
fed, ye towreue to serpentes: finallye a woman wyl never
forgyue any iniurie, nor gyue thanke for any good dede,
*S*o we s dayes the moste symple of all women, I sweare,
wyll sweare, that she knoweth lessē than she doth: and of
trouthē the mooste wyllest mans wytte shall sayle in theyz
reasons: and yet the wyllest of theym swarueth frome all
wyse dom. Wil ye know my ladyes, howe lytel ye knowe,
and howe moche ye be ignorant? That is, ye determinye
sodenly in harde thinges of grauitie, as ys ye had studid
so i t a. M. yeres: and if any gaynsaye you, ye take hym
as a mortall enimie. Hardy is that woman, that dare giue
counsel to a man, but he is more hardier that taketh it of
a womā. But I say he is a foole that taketh it, and he more
foole that asketh it, and he is moche more folyshe that ful-
fylleth it. Myn opinion is, that he that wyl not fal amoge
so many stones, nor p̄icke him amoge so many thornes,
nor blyster hym amoge so many nettyls, lette hym here
what I wyl say, and do as ye shall see: speake well and
wooke wile: In promysunge promysle moche, In fulfyl-
lynge fulfylle nothyng, and finallye alowe your wodes,
and condemne your counselfes. If one shulde demaunde
nowe a dayes of dyuers ryght renouned persons, that ben
deed, howe they dydde with the counsell of women whan
they lyued: I am sure they wolde not haue rySEN than to
deleue the, no; at this houre to be reuyued ageyn to here
them. Howe was kyng Philipp of Macedon with Olympias?
Darys with Helayne? Alexander with Rosane? Ce-
neas with Dydo? Hercules with Dejanira? Hanyball
with Thamyras? Nero with Agrippina? And if ye wyl not
be

where what they suffered with them, demande of me howe
 I bo amonge other. O ye women, I remembryng that
 I am borne of one of you, abhoore my life: and I thynding
 hat I lyue with you, desyre deathe. For there is none
 other death as to trete with you, and no better lyfe than
 to flee fro you: It is a common sayinge amonge women,
 that we men be bnynde, bycause we being boorne in your
 mnaples, do entreat you as bond women and seruantis:
 and ye say, syth ye beare vs with peryll, and nouyshe vs
 with trauaile, that it were conuenient and lust that we al-
 ways shulde be occupied in your services. Ostentymes I
 haue studyed, why men desyre women so moche. There
 is no eyes, but they ought to wepe, no harte but it shulde
 weake, no spirite but it shulde be sorowful to se a wyse ma-
 rie by a foolyshe woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the
 day to satisfie his syght, the derke nyght to tomble with
 synne thoughtes: one day hering tidinges, an other day
 to offereth service: one tymie lounyng darkenes, an other
 tyme he hateth lyght: he dyeth with company, and lyueth
 solitarie: and finally the poore folyshe louer may that he
 will not, and willeth that he may not. More ouer the cou-
 sell of his frendes profiseth him not, no; the shame of his
 minnes, no; losse of his goodes, no; the aduenture of ho-
 noure, no; losynge of his lyfe, no; lesynge of deathe, no;
 runninge nere, no; goings ferre, nor leinge with eyes, no;
 leinge with eares, no; tastinge with mouthe, no; yet fe-
 ringe of hande: and finally to attayne victorie, he hath
 alway warre agaynst him selfe. I wold these louers knew
 fro whens loue procedeth, it is this: The entrailes that
 we are bzedde in, is of fleshe: the brestes that we sucke, are
 fleshe: the armes that we are nourished in, be of fleshe:
 the werkis that we doo, are of the fleshe, by the whiche oc-
 casions commeth the repeale of our fleshe to their fleshe.

Manye

Many free hartes falle in to the snare of loue. It semeth
well my ladies, that ye are brought vp in puddels, as the
Egypties say: The puddels kepe no clere water to drinke,
nor fruit to eate, nor fyfhe to be taken, nor bessell to sayle
with: I do say ye are soule in your lyvinge, shamefull in
your persones, in aduersitie feble and lechyn, in prosperite
subtile and wylle: falle in wordes, doubtful in your wer-
kes: In hatinge ye kepe a disorder, extreme to loue, sau-
cacious to gyue, bushainfaoste to take: and I say ye are a
receypte of feare, wher as wylle menne finde perylle, and
sympyle men suffre: In you wise men holde their renomes
disallowed, and the sympyle their lyfe in penury.

anwys ¶ Let vs leaue the opinion of the Egyptiens, and come
to the Grekes, whiche saye, that in the desertes of Arabye
the sonne shineth muckle hote: and they say, that at the be-
gynninge therer appered a woman alone with a bynde cal-
led Phenyr, the whiche bynde, they say, was created of the
water, and the woman of the great hete of the sonne, and
of the corruption of the poudre that falleth fro the trees,
whiche the womes doge gate: In this wylle there was a
tree soone eaten with womes, and it chaunced by heate of
the sonne, and dynt of the powder, that a fyre kendeled,
and so brent it: and than of the fyre and pouder of the said
brent tree, the fyfle woman was made. And though I be
a philosopher Romayne, I wyl not saye, that the opinion
of the philosopher greke was ill. So of truthe ye ladies
that be amorous, haue your tongues of the nature of fyre,
& your condicions of the rattenes of the powder of wood.
After the diversite of bestes, nature hath put some strenght
In dyuers partes of theyr bodyes, as the egle in the heke,
the unicorne in the boone, the serpent in the caple, the bull
in the heed, the beare in the armes, the hore in the west, &
hogge in his arme, the hogge in hys groyne, the wood doue

*wings of
woman*

her wynges, and women in their tonges. Of trouthe the
ight of the wood dove is not so highe as the fantasie of
your solyes; nor the catte scratcheth not so soore with her
nayles, as ye scratche soles with your impozunitiess: nor
the dog hurteth not them, that he reneth at, as ye do the so
wful louer that serueth you: nor he is not in soo grette
penil of his lyse that catcheth the bulle by the hornes, as
the good fame of the louer is that falleth into your han
des. And finally the serpente hathe not soo moche poysone
in his taile, as ye haue in your tongues. Set all the good
Romayne ladyes aparte: for there be many, of whom
there is no complaynt of their persones, nor suspicion of
their good names. Of all suche my letter speketh not, nor
my penne wrytethe not of theym, but of other: I speke
of women that be suche, that all venemous beastes haue
not so moche poysone in their bodies, as they haue in their
tongues. And lute that the goddes haue commanded, a
man destreynesse do permittē, that the lyfe of men can not
pass without women: therfore I aduertise these yonge
people, and pray them that be alide, and awake wise men,
and seche the symple, to flee away fro women of yll name,
rather than from a common pestilence.

¶ Redyng the auncient lawes of Plato, I fynde written
thus: we comand, þ al womē openly infamed, be opely put
out of the citie, to thentē that other seing their sinnes not
impunished, may abhorre the sinne for feare to fal into the
same peyne. Also the same lawe sayth: We comande, that
pardon be given to a woman of all the fautes committed
to her owne body, if any amendement be sene in her: but
neare to pardon theym that haue commytted synne with
their tonges. Soz commytyng synne with an yl persons,
was fragilitie, but with the tongue it is of pure malycie.

¶ diuine Plato, master a measure of al underslaþing,

and

and p̄ince of all philosophers, whanne thou madeste that
lawe in the golden wōrldē, that there was never such scar-
citle of w̄ll women, and so great abundance of good wo-
men in Grece. What shall we doo nowe in Rome, where
there be so many p̄lle openly, and so fewe good in secret?
Naturallē they were wōnte to be shamefaste in their by-
sages, temperate in wordes, w̄lse of wyt, sobre in goinge,
meke in conuersation, pitiefull in correction, well regar-
dynge their lyuyngē, not kepyngē compaines, stedfast in
promesse, and constant in loue. Fynally let not the womē
that w̄ll be good, trust in the wisedome of w̄lse men, nor
in the flatterie of lyght folkes: But lette her vertuously
regarde her renoume; and beware alwayes of any manne
that maketh her any promys. For after that the flames of
Venus be set on fire, and Cupide hath shotte his arōwes,
the cyche man offereth all that he hath, the poore man all
that he may, the w̄lse man sayth he w̄l be her great frēde,
and the symple alway her servant: the wise man w̄ll lose
his lyfe for her, and the sole w̄ll take his deathe for her:
The olde man w̄l say, he w̄l be frend to her frendes; and
the yong man w̄l say, he w̄l be ennemis to her enemies.
Some w̄ll promys to pay her debtes, and other to reuege
her inturis. Fynally to hyde their pouertie, and to shewe
their beautie, they leauē these fooles losing their persones
and good famēs. I will leauē to speake of good women,
for it is not myn intent to laye any thinge to their charge,
but to aduertise them well. I demaunde of you amorous
ladies, if Platon was there, whan ye made a playe of my
lyfe, and drewe my figure aboue in Rome? No surely, in
bede by that I se in you at this tyme, it is suspicioſ that
is sayde of other. For there is but a fewe in Rome, whom
Plato and his lawe dothe excuse. One thinge ye can not
deny, if I were the wōrste of all meyne, at the laste ye haue
founde

numbe the ends of my blamper. And ye can not deny me,
 but the that is leaste pell of you, in all my lyfe I coude not
 fynde the malice of her lyfe. It is greate perylle to wise
 women, to be neyghbours to foles: Great peryll it is to
 men that be shamefast, to be with them that be chamelest:
 great peryll it is to them that be of a meke and styp maner,
 to be with them that be holde and rude: great peryll it is
 to them that be chaste, to be with them that lyue in auou-
 erie: great peryll it is to the honourable, to be with them
 that be disfamed. Soþ the women defamed, thinke that al-
 other be defamed, and despise that they shuld be defamed,
 and procure to haue them defamed: and say they be þi fa-
 med. And soþtentent to couer their owne infamp, they en-
 thind all other that be good. O you ladyes in amours, it is
 long sith ye knew me and I you: and if ye speke, I speke:
 If ye knowe, I knowe: if ye be styppe, I am styppe: if ye speke
 styppe, I wyl not speke in secret. Thou knowest wel Jups
 us that made the iesse, hysse Gumedes folde valyes betore
 in the bouchery than thou soldest the innocent vircins in
 thy house. Thou knowest wel Tuciga, that one daye thou
 schchedest all thy louers, but thou coudest not recken them
 in thy fynges, but desyredst to haue a bushell ful of pe-
 lons. And thou Lucia Fulvia knowest wel, when thou
 were, thou woldest whare, with Reto, and madest peace
 with thy husbande, thou tokest hym a syde, and saydeste,
 but if thou myghtest lye out of thy house ones a weke, he
 wold hot lye in the house. And thou Retoia knowest wel,
 that in thy yonge dares two yeres thou were appoynted
 in the see with a Dyrate, so that he shulde take no mo to
 misfie a. Clemen of warre in the galy. Thou Egna Coz
 na knowest wel, that whan the censure entred to take the,
 he found. vi. mens gownes, in whiche thou wentest euer by
 night: if thou haddest but one womanis gowne, that thou

Br.

wateris

Dantes

wareſt on þy day. Thou knowest wel þeſylane Fabius
 that Illitus Metellus & thou beinge maried, before the
 Censur demandēd openly his parte, of that thou gan
 in thy house with thy ſecret louers. And thou Campillo
 dwelt well, not beinge content with thyn owne nation, but
 by reaſon of the great hauntyng that thou haddeſt with
 Straungers, thou canſt ſpeake all maner of languages. I
 wil mark them that haue marked me, and hurt them that
 haue hurt me, persecute theym that haue persecuted me,
 and infame them that haue infamed me: All other my pen
 doth pardē, bycauſe they haue pardoned me in their play.
 And bycauſe my letter hath begonne in that ye haue done
 to my person, therefore I wyl end it in that it feleth of your
 good names. And thus I conclude, that a man may ſcape
 free fro all domages, with abſtrynyng fro them: But fro
 women there is no way, but to fle fro them. Thus I ende
 and demandē of the goddis, that I may ſe of you, as ye
 deſire to ſe of me. And lyþe ye be louers, I counſell you
 as ye haue ſente me your iſte as for a mocke, in lyþewyls
 for a mocke to receyue the anſwere. Marc Rodyan to the
 amorous ladyes of Rome.

A letter ſent by Marc the emperour to Boemis
 louer of his, that wolde haue gone with hym
 to the warres. The xv. letter.



Marc pretour Romayn ſent to the warres of
 Dacy, ſedeth ſalut to þeſt louer Boemis,
 which art in the pleſures of Rome. I being
 ſcaped fro þe cruel bataile, haue red þeſe
 lines written with thy hande, & haue herda
 of the a long information. I ſay to the, thou
 haſt put me in a more great abaſement than the ſcere of
 myng

my enemies. In takynge thy letter into my hanbe, forth-
 with the herde of malycies entred into my herte. do haue I
 strowne my body with thy detytes, I thinke my hart is strow-
 ne with the hempe of thy amoues. I of my will, and thou di-
 misse thou conste do no more, we haue gauen vs to be free
 of our pleasures, I thinke as well as to make a deuorse of
 our enemis. But suche as ye be, so ye do; banyshemētē
 of amours, and treasures of passions. The loue of you all
 ought to be digested with pylls: but the passion of one of
 you wyl not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexan-
 dre. Ye shewe your selfe cruell to pardon an ennemy, and
 every day light to change louers. Curiously I haue kept
 you all the while that detytes ouerpressed my youth: yet I
 woulde never se in any woman no certayntie, no reason to
 loue, but hate at the last. Thy presēt lyghtnes quarellethe
 with my yowch past: and it is by cause thou seest not in me
 the auncient will towarde the, nor the presēt seruice. And
 eschewly herynge thyng accusation, and not my iustifica-
 cion, as iustly thou paist me with deth, as I pate the with
 forgetfulnes: The whiche forgettinge is as straunge to
 haue him that serueth, as bngentines in the ladys that is
 scoured. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of
 Meus, where as it commandeth, that the curios louers
 shuld exercise their strengthes in armes, and occupie their
 names in loue: and also that their apparel be very clene-
 ly, their fete well compassed, their bodies stedfast and not
 manetyng, their boyses lowe and softer, and sable in cou-
 tenance: their eyes open gaspynge at wyndowes, and their
 baxes redy to fye in the ayre. O! trouþ my loue Woxim,
 he is but a grosse louer, that holdeþ his mylē in capyn-
 ninge and his vnderstandynge free. The vnderstandinge
 ought to be losse, where as wyl is in prison. I saye ther
 e nochtent that though myn age haue leſſe the exerceſe,

B.C. II.

P. 1.

yet my spryte dashe not forgotten the art. Then complaynest; because I gyve my selfe to rest, & that I haue greate forgotten the. I will not deny the trouthe: the daye of thy geunge maketh the mustes of my shounghees, and reason whiche is prouisour declarath, that it is not to my graunt to permitt, that I shalbe loue, nor thy age to suffice to be beloued. As nowe thou knowest, that diuers thinges; that youthe dissimuleth in yonge persons, in age impeaches correction. The dedes done in youthe proove the of ignoiance: but the vianies done in age procedeth of malice. Whan I kepte the Caution, I lieted in the stetes, I sang balades, I galed to the wyndowes, I played on instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyght persons: thinkest thou, that I wylt say what I dyd in my youth, and nowe that I se my selfe promoted to these pleasures, and berched with so many whype heares, and apparelled with so many dolours, I thynke nowe, I was not shun, or fles. I dreame as nowe, not knowyng the waues that I haue gone, nor seeing the waues full of bones, I haue fallen ere I was hage, I haue fallen in snates: somtyme gypde, I was entred into the whiclepoole: and by the grossenesse of my boldnes, I was lost, and therfore I haue deserued pardon. And nowe that I am out of the thornes and bushes, thou woldest haue me farrther in than er I was: And now that I can not take the purgations, thou wiffesse to me lynes: I haue watched all nyghte, and touched newly the alarne. For thy ancien amitie I pray thee, and coniure thee in the name of the goddis, sith that my harte is rebelling against thy wyl, which is right donefull: cause me to leue to besite the churche without doute. And to thentent that thou shuldest not thinke an vnkynnes in my whype heares, as I may argute thy sake of penderes, I wyl that we raden what we haue wonne, o: hope
271

synnes. Shewe me what comely of these pluses: the
 name yll spent, good name in scattering to partition, the
 harmonie waked, the credite lost, the goddis annayed,
 bettiese sclambyed, the name of blate beastes gote,
 surnames of shame: suchye and we and bretz be.
 Thou wrytest in thy letter, howe thou wylle leade Rome,
 and come a se me in the wates of Daer. Wryte thy self
 alaugh, and knowledgynge thy boldnesse, I beleue the
 And whan I thyne thus, I take the letter agayne out of
 my bolom, & beholde the seale, dowsyng if it be thy letter
 or not. Thou alterest my pulces and felynge of my haire,
 the colour of my face chaungereth, imagentinge, that either
 thame surmounteth in the, or els grauntis fablethe in me.
 For flicke ryghtnes shalld not be beleued, but of lyke licht
 vices. Thou knowest well, he that dothyl mercynge
 upon sonet tha he that dothe shamp. I wolde write: whil-
 methou wylle go? thou hast ben ruffe for bertinare, and
 be thou woldest be sole for wyne. Thou begans byt
 monies, and thou wylle be lafe as quynce: we haue
 run the in blosomies, and thou wylle lyde the scattre: the
 blutes ar been good, but the shales be harde, with strawes
 and dunge thou arte made ripe, and thou art rotten, and
 thou be rotte, thou art to be loched. Thou art not content
 wi. xl. veres, that thou hast, of the whithe .xxv. veres
 set passid in taste as wyne, that is to be sold: and as straw-
 berries hyd bider the leaves that are corrupte and rotten.
 Not not thou Boemia, that lacketh two teethe, the ries ho-
 lowed, with white heates, & a cluelid face, one hand luke
 with the gout, & a rybbe maried with childe berynge whyle
 thou wylle thou go? put thy selfe tha in a datell, & cast the
 it into the riuere, & thou shalt come out al weate. We haue
 eaten the freshe fyfhe, & nowe thou woldest bring hys
 muly old salt fyfhe in syde therof. O Boemia Boemia, how

I knowethers is my crast in yowth, no; hope in age. Thou
 complaynest, that thou haue no thyngs. That is an olde
 quarell of the amorous ladies of Rome, whiche takynge
 all, say they haue no thyngs: and that ye larke of credite,
 ye do fulfyl with money. Therefore believe me louing fren,
 that the solyshe estate, that procedereth of bilaufule wyn-
 dunge, gyneth smal furetie and lesse good name to the per-
 son. I can not tell howe thou haste spende so moche, for
 If I dwelle of my thyngs with one haunde, shou dypdest
 open my pucle with the other hand: I had greate warres
 with my costes than, than I haue nowe with myn enne-
 antes. I conde never haue tewell, but thou woldest demad
 it: no; I dypd never deny the. Nowe at this houre, I mer-
 mayle, for an this myn age, I synde great hyndrance by
 my yowthe. Thou complaynest of trouable and pouertye.
 I am he that bath great nede of that medicin for this o-
 sillation, and a playster for that soote, and to haue somme
 colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduised, that
 I hanpshed my necessarie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and
 hyd set by thy wyl for the request of my seruitor. In myn
 yowter, I went all bare, and in sommer charged with clothes,
 I went on sole in the myre, and rode in the faire way: wha
 I was hempe, I laughed: and whan I was mery, I wepte.
 For dide I die for the amy strengthes, and ours of my
 strengthes cowardise. The myghtes to lygh, a on the day
 to mynte where thou wentest by. Whan thou haddist nede
 of any thyngs, I was sayne to cobbe my father for it. Tel
 me Boemia, with whom fullfilledst thou thy open folies,
 but with the yll orders that I sente my selfe to in secrete?
 knot ye what me semyth by you amorous ladies of Rome?
 peare in the courte as the lyttelle moughtes eatynge olde
 clothes, a pastime for lyght folkes, tresoires of folies, a le
 pulches of vices. This y semeth me is, y is in thy yowche

eucip

and gave to the, because thou shuldest give the to me,
now thou giuest thy selfe to emp[er]or, because every
man shuld give hym to the. Thou tellest me, that thou hast
sons, & lackest helpe for them. Yield graces to the goddes
of the pite that they haue bled with the; they haue giuen
me children of Fabrizio my neyghbour but one father,
to two of thy children onely, they haue giuen. I fathers.
Therefore deuyde them amouge thy fathers, and every
man that nothau[e] one synger. Lucia thy daughter in dede,
and myn by suspeete rememb're that I haue done more in
marriage of her, thā thou didst in her procreation. So to
the gettyng of her thou dyd'st call dyuers, & to mary her I
dyd it alone. I wryte to the but lyttel to the respect of that
I wold wryte. Butto Cornaldo hath spoken moche on thy
parte, he hym selfe shall shewe the as moche of my partes.
It is long ago sith I haue thy impatience. I knowe
well thou wilt send me an other letter more malicious. I
say the sith I wrote to the secretly, defame me not openly
sith whā thou reddest this letter, rememb're what occasions
thou giuest me to write, & thoughtē we be not frendes, yet
will I not leue to send the siluer. I send the a gowne, & the
goddes be with þ, & byng me out of this warre with peace.
Marke myntour in Dacys to his auenture louer Wormia.

Boomeis. The ryt letter. I deside be
geance of þy person, & þy fortune for al thy
life. I haue receiued thy letter, & therby pa-
cetue thy danable ententes & thy cruel mal-
lices. Muche þy persons as thou art haue
this priuilege, & sith one doth suffre your villanies i secret
ye wyll

peynell ffor them upurlyp, but thyn shuld not do so with
 me shaxell though I be not the fforerelle of thy enemys,
 neacheable I am fforerelle of thy shires vnto wher
 as I can not reuenge the wounding persone, I shall labouer
 to do it with my tongue. And thynnes, that though we wo
 men be weake, and our bodyes fone overcome, yet wile it
 so certayne, that our hattes at wene vanquyshed. Thou
 sayest, that leaping fro a battayle thou syddost receyue
 my letter, wherof thou were sond abashed. It is a verye
 common thyng to them that be weake and flache, to speke
 of loue, wanton fooles to create of bookes, and to cowar
 des to babbles of armes: I say it, bycause the answertyng
 to a letter was wroght intollable to rebelle to a woman as
 Haw, whether it were before the battayle or after, I know
 well, thou art leaped fro it, for thou wiste not the ffeill that
 fought, no, the last that fled. And hanckow were yonge, I
 never sawe the go to the warre, that euer I drede or had
 fforerelle of thy lyfe: for knowyng ethy cowardise, I ne
 ver was sare to thy safetie, for thond I was most ffeare
 of thy persone. That shal tell me nowe, what thou dost
 in thyngage? I shalke thou beatest thy spere not so to iust
 quyte thyne due so to leane on swan the goute greueth
 swayp helme? Come thou beared with me to drinke
 within tauctnes, and not to defende the ffeill the strokes of
 swerthe? I never sawe the ffeill he man with thy swerd,
 but I have knownen the ffeill 29 women with thy tongue.
 W malicious and unhappy 29 art, if thou were as baly
 gant as thou were malicious, thou shuldest be as greatly
 ffeared of the baddislike nations, as thou art hated, as
 perfombris, of the malitious of Rome. Tell me what thy
 lyfe: at the least thou canste not denye, but as thou hast
 ben a weake and flache louer, so thou arte nowe a weake
 and flache rebelle, anygyl, an unknownen frende, malici
 ous

3/5 - 3 - 29
 3/5 - 3 - 29

uous, infamed, malicious, cruell, ennemy to every man,
and frende to no bode . And we that haue knownen the
king strong and lusty, cōdemne the for an olde sole . Thou
wespell, that takynge my letter in to thy handes, thy harre
take the popson of malyce . I beleue it well without swer-
wing, for any thyng beyng malicious soþwith findeth
lodging in thy hous . Beastes that be corrupt, lightly take
the popson, that they that ben of good complexion eas-
way . Of one thyng I am in certayne, thou shalt not dye of
popson . For one venyme oftentimes dystroyethe an other
venym . O Malicious Marc, yf all they in Rome knewe
the, as well as sorowfull Boemya dooth, they shuld soone
se what difference were betwene the wordes that thou spe-
kest, and the intention of thy hert . And if by the wytinges
that thou makest, thou metitest to haue the name of a phi-
losopher, by the ylnes that thou doest inuente, thou dosse
merite to haue the name of a tyaunt . Thou sayest, thou
swallest never certitude in the loue of a woman, nor ende
of her hate . I haue greate glorie, that other ladies besyde
me haue knowlege of thy small wisedome . I se Marc, I
wyll not mocke the, thou arte suche one, as never delect-
ed that one shulde begynne to loue the, nor leauie to hate
the . Wylt thou haue certitude in loue, and thou vnfayth-
full of thy seruice ? Wylt thou serue with mockeries, and
woldest be loued truely ? Wytle thou enioye the persone
without spendinge of any of thy goodes ? Wylt thou haue
no complayntes of the, and thou not ceassynge thy maly-
ces . Thou sayest thou knowest the ylnes of women . I wil
thou know, we be not so folyshe, as thou thinkest, nor thou
so wyse as thou wenest, to prayse thy selfe : yet hythereto
hath ben sene mo men, to folowe the appetite of women,
than ther hath ben women folowynge the wyl of menne .
In none of bothe is great trust, and yet we doþe practise
N. P. J.

As that

that one man hath his herte so myghty to be more wisen
 than thre wylde women, and one woman thynketh her son
 stronge to put vnder her fete and ouercome. iii. C. such
 as be lyght. Thou sayest, thou arte abashed of my lyght-
 ness, to leauue Rome, to go to the in the warres. Greate is
 the loue of the countrey, sith that many leauue diuers wel-
 thes that they haue in strange landes, and lyue straptely,
 so to lyue in their owne lande: but greater is my loue,
 sygh that I wolde leauue Rome with all the plesures, to go
 and serche for the in straunge landes amouge the cruelle
 battayles. O malitious Marke, O straunge louer: if I
 leauue Rome, it were to go and seke my hert beinge in the
 battayles with the. And certaynly dypuets tymes whanne
 I doo thinke on thyne absence, I swowne and soyewe as
 my hart were not with me, and yet I synde no perfyte re-
 medy. I thynke our loue is not lyke these beastes, that ioy
 of their pleasures, withoute to wylle, and despise theyz
 wylles. I sweare to the by the goddesse Uesta, and by the
 mother Berecynthia, that thou owest me more for one day
 of loue, that I haue had to the, than for the seruyces that
 I haue done to the in xxxii. yeres. Behold vnhappy Marke,
 howe moche in thy presence I haue always regarded the,
 and in thyng absence I haue always thought on the, and
 slepyng I haue always dreamed of the, I haue wepte
 for thy traualye, and laughed at thy pleasure, and finally
 all my welth I haue wylshed the, and al thynges I haue
 wylshed me. I ensure the one thyng, that as nowe I fele
 not so moche the persecution that thou doest to me, as I
 do the mysknowlege that thou makes to me. It is a greet
 soyewe for an auaricious manne to se his goodes lost, but
 without comparison it is fette greater for the louer to se
 his loue pl beshewen: It is a hurt that is alway sore, a
 pena alway penaful, a soyow alway soyowlful, & it is a debt

that never endeth. O ye men, if ye knewe with what loun-
men loueth you in peycynges whan they loue, & with
what hart they hate whan they are set to hate: I swere to
you, ye wold never company with thē in loue: or if ye do loue
them, never leue them for feare of their hate: & how there
is never gret hate, but where as moch loue was synt. But
you shal never be gretly hatid, for thou were never truly
loued of ladies. The sorowfull Boemita hath loued p. xxii.
rem of her lyfe, & now she only hateth p. tyl after her deth.
Thou sayest, I may be eaten for vertuyce, and yet I wold
besolde for wyne. I knowe wel I haue erred, as one that
hath ben yonge and lyght, and whan I perceyued that I
had loste my way, and that my mysaduenture can fynd no
way nor remedy: It is the greatest losse of al losses, whā
there is no remedy. I haue erred lyke a feble and a weake
woman, but thou hast erred as a stonge man: I haue er-
red by simple ignorance, but thou hast erred of a prepen-
sed and wilfull malice: I haue erred, not knowinge that
I shuld haue erred, but thou knewest what thou diddest: I
haue trusted as laychfull to thy wordes, like a gentylle
man, and thou hast begyled me with a thousande lesin-
ges as a lier. Telle me, diddest thou not seke accasyon to
comme into my mochers house Getulia, to allure me her-
doughter Boemia to thy minde: Diddest not thou pro-
misse my father to teache me to rede in one yere: and thou
taughteste me to rede the boke of Dusdius, of the arte of
loue: Diddest thou not sweare to be my husbande, and
than withdrawest thy hande as a false aduouльтre: Doest
thou not kno we that thou never foundest villanie in my
personne, nor I never founde trouthe in thy mouthe: Be-
leest thou caſt not denye, but thou haste offendid the god-
dis, and arte infamed of men, & odious to the Romayns,
ſlaundred of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes.

S. II.

and

and synally a traytore to my fathet and mother, a bokes
 of thy faythe, and to me sorowfull Boemis an vnkynde
 louer. O malycious Marc, hast thou not cuite me in lea-
 ues, offyngge to my fathet to kepe his vnes surely? Ill
 may the chekyn truste the kyte, or the lambes the wolves:
 & worse the to bring vp the doughters of the that be good.
 O cursed Marke, a domageable keper of vnes hathe the
 matrones of Rome founde the, in kepyng their dough-
 ters: I swere, that there was neyther grape nor cluster,
 but it was eaten or cut by the. Thou dydste eate me beinge
 grene, I promysle the it hathe sette thy tethe on an y ledge.
 Thou layeste, I tyred by power of heate and strawe. It
 displeaseth me not so moche, that thou layest, as thou gy-
 uest me occasion to say to the. Thy shame is so shamefull,
 and thy malyce so vnshamefaste, that I can not answe-
 the to the pourpose, withoute hurtinge or touchyng the
 quycke. I wolde wyte of the, whan thou maryedste Fa-
 styn, whether thou foundest her grene or ripe? Thou kno-
 west wel, and lyke wise so do I, that other beside the, gau-
 ged the vessel, and thou drankest the lies: other gathered
 the grapes, and thou gleynedst the vine: other dyd eate the
 grapes, and thou haddest the huskes. O wycked Marc,
 beholde thyne euylls, and howe the goddis haue gyuen
 the iuste chastysemēt, that thou being ponge meritedst not
 to be desyred of thy louers, nor that thy wyues kepe feith
 to the in thyne age. For to be adiuenged of thy peronne, I
 nede none other thyng, but to se the maried to Faustine.
 By the mother Berecynthia I promysle the, þif thy small
 wylsdome myght atteyne to knowe entierly, what is said
 of her and the in Rome, surely thou woldest wepe myghte
 and day for the lyfe of Faustyn, and not leue the thought-
 full Boemis. O Marc, lytell thoughte is taken for the, &
 howefter is our vnderstanding uncoupled fro thy thought-
 es:

us: bpcanse that with thy great doctrine by day tyme thy
 wouse is made a schole of philosophery, and the wanton-
 nesse of thy wyke Faustyne by nyght, maketh it a boordelle
 scuffiensiſ. It is a luste iugement of the goddis, that sith
 thy onely malyce suffiseth to povson maner that be good,
 that one alone may suffice to vnbend and lose thy renome.
 One difference there is betwene the and me, and thy wife
 faustine: for my dedes are but in suspecte, and yours are
 openly knownen in dede: myn are secrete, and yours are e-
 vident: I haue stōbled, but ye haue fallen: Of one thing
 alone I haue merited to be chastised, but ye haue deserued
 no forgyuenes: My dishonour is deed with the fault, and
 is buried with myn amendmet, but your infamie is borne
 with your desyses, and is broughte vp with your wylles,
 and lyueth syll with your werkes: finally therfore your
 infamie shall never dye, for you liued never welle. O ma-
 licious Marcus, with all that thou knowest, wotest thou
 not, that for losynge of a good name, an yll fame is re-
 covered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, degrynathe a good
 name! Thou ceasest not to saye ylle onely by suspition,
 the whiche thy false iugementes shewe the: and yet shou
 woldest we shulde not speake that we se with our eyes. Of
 one thyng be thou sure, that neyther of the, nor of thy
 wyke Faustyne there is no false wytnesse: for the trouth is
 so evident, that there nedeth not to inuent any lies. Thou
 laist, that it is an olde quarel of amorous ladies of Rome,
 that in takinge fro many we are the povdest of alle other:
 because we faile in credence, we are honordice for syuer.
 It is of certayntie, that we mistruste the holte because of
 his prickes, the acomes, for his huskes, the roses amēge
 netrys, and thy mouth for thy malyce. I haue exquisitely
 taken heede, that thou never laydest well by women, nor I
 never couid synde, that any wolve the good. What great-

S. iii,

ter

for correction Childe I haue of thy wychednes, or more ben
geance for myn injuries, but to be certayn, that all the lo-
singe ladies of Rome are sorwe of thy lyfe, and woldre be
gladde of thy dethe: The lyfe of that man is wycked, that
many bewayle, and in whose dethe every body reioysethe.
It is the propertie of poore bnykynde persons as thou art,
to forgette the great goodnesse done to them, and to be so-
mwhat the lytell that they gyue. As moche as noble hartis
glorifie them in gyuyng to other, so moch are they asha-
med to receyue seruices bnewarded. So in giuinge they
make them selfe lordes, and in receyuyng they are as scla-
ues. I woldre myte what thou haste gyuen me, or what
thou haste receyued of me: I haue aduentured my good
name, and gauen the possession of my persone: I haue
made the lord and master of all my goodes: I haue ban-
ished my selfe out of my countrey, and putte my selfe in
peryll only for thy sake: and in recompence of al this, thou
reprochest me now of miserie. Thou never gauest me any
thing with thy good myl, nor I never receyued it willing-
ly, nor it dyd me never profyt. Al thinges recouer a name,
not for the common warke that we see, but for the secrete
intention with whiche we wroke. And thou unhappy
man desiredst me, not to enjoy my personne, but rather to
haue my money. We ought not to cal the a cleare louer, but
a thre, & a wylpsee rouer. I had a lytel ringe of the, whi-
che I am determyned to caste into the ryuer, and the clo-
thyng that I had of the I haue brent in the fire. And yf
that my body were any thing ameded with the bread that
I haue eaten of thyn, I woldre cutte my fleshe, and let out
the blode without any feare. O cursed Marke, thy darke
malice woldre not suffre the clerely to understande my let-
ter: for I intended not to aske moneys, to celeue my po-
ueris and folystynesse, but reknowlegynge and thyng-
kyng

ynge to satisfie my wyllynghe herde. The bapne and con-
scous menne as thou arte thy selfe, art pleased with gis-
sene, but the hertes incarnate in loue are lyttell satisfied
with syluer. For loue onely is payed with loue agayne.
The manne that loueth not as a manne of realone, but
as a brute beaste, and the woman that loueth not but for
the interest of her person: such ought not to be trusted in
their wordes, nor their persones despred. For the loue of
her endeth whan the goodes fayle: and the loue of hym,
whan her beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onely of
the beautie of my face, and my loue onely for the money of
thy poures: it were not ryghte, that we were called wyse
louers, but rather very nyce persons. O wycked Marc, I
never loued the for thy goodes, though thou louedst me
for my beautie: with all my hart I loued the than, & with
all my hart I hate the now. Thou sayest, the goddes haue
shewed me greate pitte, to giue me fewe chyldren, and to
them many fathers. The greatest malice in women is to
be vnshamefalle, and the mooste vilanie in men is to be yll
safers. Diuers thinges ought to be suffered for the fragili-
tate of women, whiche are not permitted in the wisedome of
men. I say this because I never sawe temperaunce in the
so to couer thyn owne malices, nor wisedome to excuse
the debilitie of other. Thou safest, that my sonnes haue
diuers fathers. I swere vnto the, that though thou dye,
the chylderne of Faustine shall not be faterles. And of
trouth is the goddis, as thou sayest, haue be pincallie to
my chyldren, no lesse art thou to straunge children. For
faustin kepereth the but to excuse her blame, & to be tutour
of her chyldren. O cursed Marc, thou mayst wel reioyce and
take no thoughte, for thyne owne chyldren haue no nede
to be maried. For one thyng we are bounde, that is for
the example, the whiche thou doste gyve of thy parsonage
for

for siche shous susst: faulne in so many infamies, it is
no great nede that we susste any secrete in the. I say no
more at this tyme, makyng an ende of my letter, desyring
the ende of thy persone.

Letter sent by Marcus the emperour to Matrine
a yonge mayden of Rome, of whom he was
enamoured, seinge her at a wyndow.

The xviii. letter.

Ncke the imperour, the very desirous, to
the Matrine greatly desyred. I wote not
if by good aduenture of myn yll aduen-
ture, or by yll aduenture of my good ad-
uenture, I dyd see the of late at a wyndowe,
wher as thou heldest thyng armes
as close as myn efen were spred abode,
that cursed be they for ever. For in beholding thy face, my
hart for the with abode with the as psoner. The begyn-
ninge of thy knowledge is the ende of my reason, and fe-
lyng of flight. Of one trauayle cometh infinite trauay-
les to men, I say it, if I had not ben ydel, I had not gone
oute of my house, and ys that I hadde not gone our of my
house, I hadde not gone oute in to the strees, and if I
had not passid through the stree, I had not sene the at thy
wyndowe, and if I hadde not sene the at thy wyndowe, I
had not desyred thy persone: and not desyring thy person,
I had not put thy name in so greate peryll, nor my lyfe in
trauatle, nor had giuen none occasion in al Rome to speke
of vs. Of a trouth lady Matrine in this case I condemne
my selfe, syth I wold beholde the. And thou woldest be sa-
luted, siche thou desyredst to be sene. And syth thou were sed
as a wyppe wakke, it was no greate meteagle that I thowt

And the avolues of myne eies at the boute of thy beautis,
 With wollynge eies, with browes bent, well coloured face,
 Wherante rethe, ruddy lippes, cryspe heates, handes lit
 With thynges, clothed with a . M . maner of clothynges,
 Weryng puries full of swete smelles, and bracelettes full
 Of knuckles, with perles and stones at the eates. Telle me
 What becometh of a woman, with these thynges, that wyl
 Gewe her selfe at a wyndoowe: The mooste cause is, that
 I can esteme o; thynke therin, that sith you do shew your
 bodies openly to vs at the eis, that your wylle is, that we
 Shulde knowe your desires secretly. And if it be soo, as I
 afferme, that it is so, it semeth me madame Matrine, thou
 Wuldest desyre hym that desyreteth the, to informe hym that
 Secheth the, to answe hym that called the, & seie that he
 Secheth, intende to hym that intendeth to the: and sythe I
 understande the, understande me, and understande sythe
 Thou doest not understande. I am adupsed, as I went by
 the Strete Falaria to se theues putte to Justice, myne even
 lawe the at a wyndoowe, on whome dependeth all my de
 sires. Thou doest more Justysce to me, than I to the the
 ues: for I bringe at Justice, thou hast iusticed the Ju
 stice, & none dare peyne the. The gybet is not so cruell to
 them that never knew but il doing, as thou art to me that
 never thought, but howe I myghte doo the service. The
 theues suffre but one death, and thou makest me to suffre
 a . M . in a day: In one houre the theuers liues are ended,
 and I dye every mynute: I brawe towarde deeth wrong
 fully, and they suffre for their fautes: I suffre an innocent,
 they openly, and I in secrete. What shall I saye moze to
 the: of trouthe they wept watry droppes with their eyes,
 because they dye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my harr,
 because I lyue. This is the differencie, they tormentes
 spredeth abrode through al their bodies, and I kepe myn
 T togyder

together in my herte. O cruelle Matrine I canne not tolle
 what Justice it is to put men to deth that steale money, &
 sustaine women to lyue that robb mennes hertes. If they
 teares be cut of, that pylke mens purcess, why are womenne
 than pardoned, that robbe mennes inwardes hertes & en-
 traples? By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddesse
 Venus I coniuite the eyther answere to my desyre, ozelles
 resto're my harte agayn, whiche thou hast robbed fro me.
 I wylde thou knewest the clere sayth of my harte, rather
 than this letter wryten with my hand. If myne aduenture
 were so good, as to speke with the, and that thy loue were
 not ashamed therof, I wold hope with the sight and spech
 to wynne that whiche I am in suspect to lese by my letter.
 The reason is, bycause thou herest my ylle and rude rea-
 sons redyng my letter. And if thou sawest me, thou shul-
 desse se the cruell teares that I offre to the by my lyfe. I
 wylde my mouth coude publyshe myne enraged euglies,
 as my harte feleth, than I wvere to the lady Matrine, that
 my greuous doloz shulde awake thy small thought. And
 as thy beautie & mine affection haue made me thyn owne,
 the knowelege of my passion shuld make the myne. I de-
 syre that thou shuldest regarde the begynnyng, and ther-
 with regarde the ende. Certaynly the same day that thou
 empysonedst my herte at thy wyndoore, in the doungone
 of my desyres, I had no lesse weykenesse to be ouercome,
 thanne thou haddeste force to constraine me. And moare
 greater is thy power to put thy selfe from me, thanne my
 reason is to put me fro the. I are noo mercye of the, but
 that we myght declare oure wylles together. But in
 this case what wylte thou that I shulde say, but that thou
 hast so moche power ouer me, and I so littel of my liberte,
 that wyl I wryll I, my hert can not be but thyne? And but
 beyng thyne, thou mayest and wylt not declare thy selfe

to be myn. And sith it may not be, but that my lyfe must be condemned in thy servyce, be thou as sure of my fayth as I am doutefull of thy hope : for I shall haue a greater welthe to be losse for thy sake, thanne towynne any other mynge. I wyll say no more atte this tyme, but that thou accompte my perdition and dethe, and dwawe the lyfe of my teares in to open ioye : And bycause that I holde my fayth in thy faythe, and wyl never despasyre in thy hope, I sende to the. x. lytell rynges of golde, with x. stonnes of Ilerandy. And I conture the by the immortall goddis, that whanne thou doest put them on thy syngers, thou set me in thy harte and entrayles. Marcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

Can other letter sente by Marc the emperoure
to the sayde gentyl woman Matrine.

The. xviii. letter.



Mark habitaunte atte Rome, to the Ma-
ctyne his ryghte swete enemy. I cal the
swete, for it is wist that I dye for the.
And I call the enemy, bycause thou ma-
kest not an ende to sle me. I can not tell
wherin it is, but sythe the feast of Jano
hytherto, I haue wryten thre letters to the. And to the an-
swere of them I wolve that I had sene two letters from
the, if it were thy pleasure. If that I serue the, thou wol-
dest that I shuld not serue: if I speke, thou wylt not speke
to me, if I loke at the, thou wylt not beholde me: if I cal
the thou wylt not aunswere: if I visite þ, thou wylt not se
me, if I wyt to the, thou wilt give me none answere, and
wost of al, if other do shewe the of my dolours, thou ma-
kest but a moche therof. And if I had as moch knowlege,

T.ii. where

where to complayne to the, as thou hast power to timyng
the platynye, my wisedome shulde no less be praysed a-
monge wise men, than thy beautie is amonoge fooles. I
pray the hartely regarde not the contrarieties of my rea-
sons, but regarde the saythe of my weppynge, the whiche
in wytnesse of my peynes I do gyue vnto the. I wote not
what good may come to the of my hartnes: noz what win-
nyng of my losse thou shuldest hope to gette: noz what
suretie of my perl thou shuldest attayne vnto: noz what
pleasure of my displeasure thou mayst hauie. I haue had
sunswere of my messenger, that without redyng of my
letters, thou hast with thy handes tozen them all to pie-
ces. It ought to suffise the to thynke, that my person were
heuen in quarters, yet I wolde thou haddest redde these
small lynes lady Mattrine: for by them thou shuldest haue
seen, howe my thoughtes were troubled. Ye women are so
extreme, that for y faut of one man, a woma wyl complainyn
of all other men in generall, so that ye be cruel for one par-
ticular cause. Openly ye pardone all mens lyues, and in
secrete ye procure every mans dethe. I esteme it nothyng
dame Mattrine that thou haste done: but I lament me of
that thou demaundedst Valerius thy neyghbour to saye
to me. One thyng I wolde thou haddest in memoire and
not forgot, and that is, suth that my lybertie is so smalle,
and thy power so great, bycause I bringe all holly myne
owne, I am touned to be thyn, that thou shuldest thinke,
that whan thou woldest iurie me, thou shuldest do most
iurie to thy selfe, sythe that by the I dye, as thou by me
doste lyue. In this p[ro]p[ri]ty purpose persever not, for thou doste
aduenture the lyfe of vs bothe. Thou damnest thy condic-
tion, and distroyest my heilth, and finally thou must coine
to the medicine. Forgiue me dame Mattrine, if I say any
malyses to the, that is, I knowe that ye women desir one

thyng, and hepe vs in vpede, that it shoulde not come by
her thought. Thou were wont to be wel conditioned, and
as leaste though thou doest not put it in bre, yet thou hast
the same therof: and an ancient fame ought not to be leste
for a newe vnykndnes. Thou knowest well, what contra-
tinessesse dothe vngentylnessse to the vertues in vertuous
houses, and thou canst not be called vertuous, but if thou
be gentyll and courteise. There is no greater vnkindnes
than to loue her that loueth not me: That I visite the and
thou visitest not me, that I speake to the, & thou speakest
not to me is no thyng, that I knowlege the, & thou wille
not know me is no thyng, though I wepe and thou laugh
is no thyng, though I demaunde, and thou denye este is
no thyng, though thou owe me, and never pape, yet it is
nothinge: but where as I loue the and thou not me, is a
great thyng: that thyng that can not be dissimuled with
the eies, nor the hart suffre all the bytes amouge mortall
creatures, it is reason that they be forgyuen, because they
are commytted by nature, saue onely the vnloyng of
women, and the vnkynnesse of men, whiche are dyces
commytted of malyce. After dyuers seruices by me done
to the, and moch mor that I haue to do hereafter, thou
Matrine mayste onely pay me with one thyng, I pray
the refuse not to gyue me baledy, lythe I haue not offred
me in the peryll. If thou saye, that Patroclus thy spouse
hath the propretie ouer the, yet at leaste receyue me to the
profe, and I shall pretende possession of the. And in this
wise in the bayne glorie to be thyn, shal couer the damage
not to be myn. Thou makeste me to meruayle soze, howe
for so smale a mercy and reward thou canst suffre such im-
postunitie so longe. For certain manythings we grant
to an impotunate manne, the whiche are not graunted
to a temperate man. If thou hopest to ouercome me Ma-

Ct. iii.

tryne,

tryne, I holde my selfe banquifched, if thou wylte lose me, I holde me fo^r lost, if thou wylle me, I yeld my selfe as deade. Fo^r by the gesture that I make afore thy gate, and the sygnes that I make in myn dwne house, are gretly myne to resynd, and the grevous assault of the be edifices more to summon dede, than to defende the lyke : þt thou wylte that I scape this daunger, deny me not the remedy, because it shalbe a greater vice in the to sle me, þt bilany to gyue me remedy. And it were no iuste thinge fo^r so small a p^yce to lose the fayth of so gret servyce. I wote not what to do, to make the my debtour, and thou to pay me. And per^þworst of al, I wote not what to do, nor what to thinke nor to say, nor to whom to determine me, because I can not assyure any profyte in me, but to be cestayne in thy seruices. And because thou doste trusse hym that hath done this message, by hym I do send this open letter, and my secrete aunsweare. I do send the a lewell of perles, and a besant of gold. To the goddis I do commende the. And I require the fo^r to receyue it with as good a wylle as I do present it vnto the. Marc the o^ratour to the right hono^rable Mattine.

CA letter sent by Marc the empetour to Lybia a fayre lady Romayne.

CThe xir. letter



Atke full of sorowe and pensyfenes, to the Lybia takynge but lyttell thought or care: þt thy small thought passed any thyng on me, and also þt my troubles and dolours were lodged and dydde reste in the, thanne thou shuldest perceyue and se howe smalle the quarrell were, the whiche I make to the, in respecte of

the tourment that I doo suffre, if the blasinge flames issued out, as the fyred brondes do brenne me within, the smoke wolde reache to the heuens, and make pymbes of the exche: yf thou doest well remembrie the fyrest tyme that I sawe the in the temple of the virgins vestales, thou beinge there praydst to the goddis for thy selfe, and I on my anees prayed the for my selfe. I knowe well thou offredit hony and oyle to the goddis, and I offred to the soore weypinges and spghes. It is a iuste thyng to gyue moze to hym that offreth his inwarde entraples, than to hym that deaweth money out of his purse to offre. I haue determined, and disposed me, to write to the this letter, that thou shuldest se how thou arte serued with the arrowes of myn eies, that were shotte at the whyte of thy seruyces. Alas, howe sorrowful am I to thynke, least the calme tyme now, doth threten me with the tempest to come. I wyl say, that disloye in the, causeth the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde what my saduenture, I had loste a letter, and I retourned to the temple to seke for it, but I had never lost my self, in going thyther so often, cosyderynge my smal merite. I se well, that myn eies the ladders of my hope, are set on so hys a walle, that no lesse is the doulbe of my fal, than the daunger of the clymmynge vpp. Thou bowrynge downe the leaues of thy high myrtyes, haste broughte me to the poynct of continuall seruice. Lette me haue the fruite, and giue the leaues to whome thou wylle. By the immortalle goddis, I haue great maruayle, bycause I thought that in the temple of the virgins Vestales, no manne shoulde haue had temptations. But as nowe I doo synde by experiance, that the woman is moze lyberalle and sooner ouercome that is faste and straptly kept and watched, than other. All the corporal domages are ffirst hard of, et they be knownen, and knownen er they be sene, and sene er they be felte,

faite, and falle et they be talkeid, yet it is not so in lone. For
tyll ther sele the stroke therof, et they se the waye howe it
cometh. The lyghtnyng is not so fodeyne, but it is seene
afare the thonder clappe, nor the wal failleth not so fodeyn-
ly, but synte somme stones breake asondre, nor the colde
cometh not so faste on, but some fynal shueringes cometh
before: but all onely loue is not felte tyl it be setled in the
entraples. Let euery man knowe it that knowe it not, and
thou lady Libie if thou wylt, knowe: Loue slepeth whan
we wake, and waketh whan we slepe, and laugheth whan
we wepe, and wepeth whan we laughe: it assurcth in ta-
hyng, and taketh in assuringe: And speketh whan we be
spill, and is syll whan we speke: And finally it is of that
condicyon, that for to gyue vs that we desyre, hit causeth
vs to lyue in peyne. I swere to the, whan my wyl became
thy seruaunte, and thy beautie caused, that thou were my
lady, whan I was in the temple and returned agayn thither
not despysinge the, thou beheldest me, and I as
unhappy loked on the. But O what a thoughte came to me,
that my harte beinge hole, thou haste denyded, beinge in
deth thou haste hurte, beinge alyne thou haste slayne, be-
yng myn thou hast stollen it, and that worse of al is, not
helppnge to my lyfe, thou consentest that loue assayle me
to the deth. Many tymes lady Libia consyderyng that
al my thoughtes ben hygh, and my fortune loue, I wolde
haue seperat my selfe fro the. But considerynge that my
trauayles are well applyed in thy seruices, I say though
I myght I wyll not be seperat fro the. I wyll not denye
one thinge, and that is, that cursed loue taketh away the
taste of al thynges, and yet therby alonly it gyueth vs ap-
petite, the whiche giueth vs moche pell prouifite. This is
the profe of him that louerh herilip. For one disfaour of
them that is beloued, is more than all the fauour of this
lyfe

mocherpe passeth by mockerte: but where as the true hert
 is, there is the grete and no mockerte. Loue shedethe his
 poplone, and cruelle Cupido syxthe his groves upp unto
 the fethers. Than the even wepe, the herte syghethe, the
 herte trymblethe, the synewes shynke: the understand-
 pynge wareth grosse, reason fayleth, and so all fallerthe to
 the exthe, soo that finally the hewe louer abidinge in him
 selfe, holdeth lyttel or nothyng of hym selfe. All this I
 say bycause that knowlege to loue fayleth in me; yet bops
 sure, that the workes fayle me not to worke in thy seruice.
 And siche hit was myn aduenture to se the, nowe it is my
 chancce to knowe the. I demaunde nothyng elles of the,
 but that thou wyls loue me trewly, syth I loue the without
 any knyng. And if thou haste hardes, that I am shake
 at my harts, I despise the to do me some good: for siche it
 is all onely in the, it is reason that thou all onely sede for
 remedy. I was greatly comforde, whan Fabius Cadi-
 nus despised me in thy behalfe to be a paysoner, and I dyd
 incontinent all that thou dyddest despise, to thentente that
 thou on some day shuldest do that I desyre. And beholde
 lady Lydia, the woman that is servid with seruices, it is
 reasonna that she receyue some payvers. And thoughte my
 strengthes haue no power to open the gates of thy pris-
 onole, as not to agree to thy demaunde, yet all my labours
 be bycause of thy renoume. I praye the discouer not the
 me, nor begyle me nat with the other. Soz now thou seeest
 that in grauntyng is remedy, and in truske is comforte,
 but promesse is deceyuable, the delaynge is perillous,
 and the entreatyng bynderch. I se verye well, that the
 laste demaunde delerush a longe awaue: but I wold
 not that thou shuldest do so: but as I despise the, soo des-
 ire me. I saye agayne, I am alle thine, and not myne
 meselfe, and as soz my selfe in al thynges, I wyl serue the
 vniuersall

And lady Libba regarde, that it were as moche honour to
the, as prosperable for me, to tourne thy disordinate des-
ires and purples. For thou seest well it is moche better to
heale shortly than to late with saylyng of thy purpose.
All women kepe one daungerous opinion, that is, they
wyl never recepue counsell that is gauen them in a great
cause: and if it be so, as I thynke, sith thou arte praysed
and esteemed of great beautie, than be esteemed to recepue
good counsel. And in this maner in case that my damage
be very great, and thy patience very lyttell, I shalbe cal-
led wise to gyue the suche counselle, and thou righte gra-
cious to folowe it. One thinge I saye: and pardon me,
thoughe I shew it to the, how that women be greatly im-
tamed, that wyl take no counsell, and suche as wille as-
sure their renoume by the opinion of other, as moche as
thoughe they were determined so to do ther selfe. Where-
fore I woldē ye shuld do one thyng for an other, as I com-
mende you. And if thou fyndest any ill therby, withdrawe
thy hande. I wyll say no more to the, but that I do pre-
sent to the al my vnhappy troubles, my desperate syghes,
and my seruices as thy seruaunt: My troubled dolours,
my wordes of philosophy, and my amorous teares. Also
I sende the a gyrdle of golde, and I gyue it the on the
condition, that thou sette thynges theron, and apply thy
harte to me. I praye the goddis to gyue me to the, and the
to me. Marcus Aurelius the philosopher wryteth this in
very great secrete.

OTHERIS ENDETH THIS GOLDEN Booke of
the eloquent man and durells empereur: who so euer be re-
ader therof may take it by reason for a ryche and a newe le-
dour, and speciallye pryncis and governours of the com-
mon welth, and mynisters of justice, with other. Also the
common people erthe of them maye finde the labour con-
ueniente

ument to their estate. And therin is contyned certayne
yght high and profounde sentences, and holsom counse-
llyng, and meruaylous deuyces ageynst thencumberaunce of
fortune: and right swete consolacions for them that are o-
verthronen by fortune. Finally it is good to them that vi-
gate it, and chanke god that hath gyuen suche grace to a
saynyn, in gyuyng vs example of vertuous lyuyng,
with hye and salutarie doctrines and meruaylous instru-
cions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayse as ought
to be gyuen to the auctour, is to be gyuen to the transla-
tors, that haue laboriously reduced this treatysse oute of
greke in to latyn, and out of latyn into Castilian, and ouut
of Castilyan into frenche, and out of frenche into englyshe,
written in high and swete styles. O right happy trauaple,
bythe that suche fruite is issued therof. And also blesyd
be the handes that haue written hit. A ryghte pretious
rate is the sentences of this boke: But finally the sauce
of the sayde swete style moueth the appetite. Many bokes
there be of substancial meates, but they be so rude and
so vnsauery, and the style of so smal grace, that the
fyfste moyselle is lothesome and noysfull: And of
such bokes foloweth to lye hole and sounde
in Lybaries, but I truste this wyll
not. Of trouthe great prayse is
due to the auctour of his
trauaple. And syth
there can be no
grace equi-
polent

In erthe, lette vs pray to god to
gyue hym grace and reward
in heuen. Amen,

Graces to god,
FINIS.

*To my lovein friende
my*

comes etherto the volume of Marke Aurelie emp
our other booke called the golden boke, translated out
Frenche into englyssh by John Bourchier knyghe
loide Barnes, deputie generall of the kynges
towne of Caleys and marches of the same,
at the instant desyze of his newewe syz

Francis Bypyn knyghe, endyd
at Caleys the tenth day of
Marte, in the yere
of the kynghe
of oure

Quenterayn loide kynghe
Henrye the. VIII.
the. XXII.

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS THOMA
BERTHELETI REGIS
IMPRESSORIS.

CVM PRIVILEGIO ARE.
GE INDVLTO.

William vane

of Hopkynnes and after th
Custos of our coys and chur
chells. And now
21N1

The lord is our defens and dyncd the fencyng
and plesaunce founyd when we will. And weare meny
appoynted to it our chylde at